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USSR Report

TRANSLATIONS FROM KOMMUNIST

No. 11, July 1981



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Translations from the Russian-language theoretical organ of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).

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MOST IMPORTANT PARTY POLITICAL INSTRUMENT

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[Article by A. Pel'she, CC CPSU Politburo member and CC CPSU Party Control Committee chairman]

[Text] The Soviet people have entered a new era of historical creativity under the guidance of the communist party. The more profoundly we consider the powerful scope of constructive work, the more clearly we see how our ideals and future are assuming clearer outlines, acquiring a specific content and turning into the material and spiritual values of the developed socialist society. The dynamism of this objective and natural process was reflected in the work of the 26th party congress impressively and in a profoundly scientific manner. The Central Committee accountability report, which was submitted by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, and the Basic Directions for the country's socioeconomic development in the 1980s most clearly prove that now that socialism is developing on its own base and on the solid foundations of powerful production forces and progressive science and technology, the role of the subjective factor becomes even greater, particularly with regard to party management, state planning and administration and the political activeness of the broad toiling masses.

In the future, the pace of our further progress will depend entirely on the skillful and effective utilization of the tremendous production and scientific and technical potential and all available resources, efficient economic management and strict observance of a regimen of economy. "Under contemporary conditions," L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the congress, "discipline and personal responsibility become far more important. This applies to the responsibility of economic, soviet and party managers in particular." This extremely important stipulation must be viewed in close connection with practical organizational and technical and economic tasks, strict exigency and the fullest possible utilization of the opportunities available to our state apparatus and economic mechanism.

Exigency criteria have become immeasurably higher on all levels of production organization and management of socioeconomic processes today. The efficient pre-congress rhythm proves this quite well. It is an unquestionable truth that strengthening order and discipline and upgrading the level of organization, responsibility, efficiency and creative initiative depend, above all, on the proper choice, placement and upbringing of cadres, the systematic and strict control and verification of execution and the development of principled criticism and self-criticism. In this respect it is important to note that optimum results

merely provide organic unity between the fundamentals of organizational and management activities and their systematic implementation.

In the face of the new tasks, it is self-evident that all basic elements of organization and management acquire a new meaning, new forms and distinguishing features. In this article we shall consider some problems in the organization of party control, which is a most important instrument in the implementation of CPSU policy.

I

It would be proper to begin with the problem of the attitude toward control, for it predetermines a great deal in terms of its organization and implementation. Let us look truth in the eye: an obvious disparity is occasionally encountered even in our party circles. On the one hand, we acknowledge the importance of control; on the other, when it comes to actions we underestimate or even ignore it. For subjective reasons theoretical considerations still frequently conflict with practices. The most important instrument of party policy thus finds itself in the position of an outcast. Sometimes it is reduced to the virtual status of a technical function. This emasculates the political nature of control.

In the course of time, as we progress, V. I. Lenin's familiar view becomes increasingly meaningful: "To check on the people and to check on the actual implementation of the work is, again and again and exclusively, the highlight of our entire work, the entire policy today" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 45, p 16). "Our entire work" means not only organizational but economic and educational work as well. "Entire policy" means anything of party-wide and national significance.

Control and verification of execution are political in nature solely because, to one extent or another, they are aimed at the implementation of the party's general line and the resolution of its strategic and tactical problems. They are part and parcel of the activities of the soviets of people's deputies, the trade unions, the Komsomol and other public organizations. They are of an all-embracing and, therefore, truly democratic character.

Any fact, any phenomenon within the scope of party, governmental or public control is considered from the viewpoint of the national interests and the Soviet laws which express the will of the people, the rules of socialist community life and the norms of communist morality. This is not to mention control over the implementation of party and governmental directives and the execution of any operative decision based on these directives, which takes on a political nature, for its fate affects the general interest one way or another.

Control and verification of execution perform constructive functions like the other levers of management and organization of the production process. They maintain an efficient tone and help us to implement our plans. At the same time, control is an effective method for the exposure and elimination of contradictions. It is a tested means of struggle for what is new and progressive and against inertia, routine and backwardness. It helps us to correct errors and to surmount difficulties and shortcomings and bureaucratic, departmental and parochial barriers, and offers scope for search, initiative and creativity.

I remember the sad admission by the head of a big department: "We adopted seven resolutions on this matter. As a party investigation revealed, however, all of them proved to be fruitless." It later became clear that the comrade had properly identified the true reasons for this futility. They were the lack of proper control and of exigency on his part concerning the implementation of the decisions.

Control can be neither formal nor separated from organization, management, education, the elimination of identified shortcomings and surmounting difficulties. Building and control are inseparable. It is also important to eliminate the simplistic view of control as a kind of official attribute or a whip for tightening up. The true purpose of control has nothing in common with such ideas. It is richer and more comprehensive. This idea runs throughout the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress.

Our party makes skillful use of control for checking the consistency between theory and practice, decision and execution, and word and deed. Control is the most dynamic and effective expression of the spirit of criticism and self-criticism inherent in our party. The congress reemphasized that our party does not become self-deluded by achievements. It calls for a forward advance, concentrates attention on unresolved problems and directs the efforts of the party members and all working people toward surmounting shortcomings.

Bottlenecks and disproportions remain in the national economy. After studying the reasons for this situation, the congress singled out those of a subjective nature, above all, namely the errors and omissions committed by management and planning workers and the lack of persistence on the part of many party and state leaders in strengthening state and planning discipline. The main reason for this is the fact that the force of inertia, traditions and habits which developed at a time when less priority was given to the qualitative than the quantitative side of the work have not been entirely eliminated as yet. Now, on the basis of experience acquired, we must more decisively eliminate the obstacles which hinder economic growth, upgrade cadre responsibility, and learn how to work effectively and manage thriftily.

Responsibility for the implementation of state plans has always been the primary duty of all managers. The party has always considered the plan to be the law. However, as was pointed out at the congress, this is being forgotten for some reason. The practice of reducing the plans has become widespread. That is how the managers of the Kommunar Association have frequently extricated themselves from a difficult situation. Whenever they were unable to cope with the plan they turned to the main administration, which made unjustified amendments to already stipulated assignments quite lightheartedly, without even bothering to understand the reasons for the usual failure. In the first 9 months of 1980, the association's marketing plan was reduced on five different occasions.

In the course of our practical work we frequently come across cases in which some economic managers, unwilling to trouble themselves with unnecessary bother, ignore control and fail to fulfill the plans and, in their desire to be among the frontrunners and to earn bonuses, take the antigovernmental path of fraud and falsifying indicators. Such was the case, for example, with the managers of many enterprises under the RSFSR and Ukrainian SSR ministries of transportation and of

automotive enterprises of the USSR ministries of construction of heavy industry enterprises, power industry and installation and special construction work.

Padding was systematically practiced by the Udmurtneftegazstroy Trust. In an effort to conceal major deficits, P. F. Chaturrov, its former manager, included the completion of fictitious work in his reports. His 1979 accounts were padded by almost 600,000 rubles. The unseemly position of V. N. Zinov'yev, head of the Tatneftestroy Association, was exposed as a result of an investigation. Although reports that trust managers were cheating the state reached him, he took no steps. Both the direct violators of state discipline and those who tolerated this were strictly called to account by the party. The violators of the law were prosecuted by the justice authorities as well.

It would hardly be necessary to prove that plan amendments and the padding of state accounts disorganize the economy, corrupt cadres and create irresponsibility. As to the dishonest workers, they lose the trust of others and should not be tolerated in leading positions. The time has come to truly strengthen the firmness of requirements concerning the observance of planning discipline and the quality of the plans themselves. "The interests of the state must always stand above those of individual ministries and enterprises," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the 26th CPSU Congress. "Extensive rights are being granted to managers, who are expected to exercise them fully. However, every manager must bear in mind his high responsibility, a responsibility to the people he has been trusted to lead, to the party and to the nation."

Party and people's controllers still encounter frequent cases in which area managers, motivated by parochial considerations and personal benefit, include additional projects in approved plans. The smaller the size of such construction, the more innocuous they subsequently claim it to be. However, is this the case? Is this consistent with the legitimate expenditure of material resources, the proper upbringing of the people and the strengthening of discipline? Again and again, no. The violation of the plan disturbs the normal rhythm of the work at a number of other projects and puts people in a position of unhealthy interdependence. Someone issues an improper instruction, someone else passes it on, and yet someone else carries it out. Where are the materials for the unplanned project coming from? Naturally, from planned ones. This violates their completion deadlines and frequently lowers their quality.

The material damage is obvious. The moral harm, however, is far more serious. It is at this point that responsibility and reciprocal exigency meet and that the businesslike relationship between managers and subordinates is disturbed. A manager who issues an improper instruction ties his own hands. He can no longer be entirely exacting toward his subordinates, for he finds himself, in a way, indebted to them.

The responsibility of the manager is of a higher order, for he is responsible not only for his own actions but for those of his subordinates as well. It is natural, therefore, in the course of a control measure, to become interested in the way the manager promotes a feeling of duty and discipline among the others as well, in the type of exigency he displays, whether he personally takes part in controlling and sets an example in self-discipline, organization, precision and respect for the law.

Control plays an important role in the major project facing us in the area of perfecting the socialist way of life and uprooting anything which hinders the shaping of the new man. Let us say the following in this connection: labor is the main distribution criterion under the conditions of developed socialism. That is why it is urgently necessary to continue to provide strict control over labor and consumption measures. We must always remember that the concepts of morality and justice are inseparably linked with labor, its quality and quantity and the payment for it, based on the productivity of the individual member of the socialist society.

Equalizations of all kinds, payment of wages merely for showing up at work rather than for end results and the awarding of undeserved bonuses have an extremely harmful impact on production indicators and on the mentality of the people. Our system of material and moral incentives must always and comprehensively ensure the just and objective evaluation of the labor contribution of everyone. Conscientious workers must be comprehensively encouraged and no loopholes left for allowing parasites and waste makers to lead an easy life. He who wants to live better must work more and better.

As was emphasized at the congress, all available organizational, financial and juridical means must be used to plugg all the cracks through which idleness, bribery, speculation, encroachment on socialist property and receipt of unearned income may penetrate. The organization of housing construction, improvement in its quality, and the maintenance and proper utilization of available housing require more specific state and public control. Unquestionably, the Foundations of Housing Legislation of the USSR and of Union Republics, recently approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet, will make a major contribution to the successful implementation of our party's program for further steady improvement in the well-being of the Soviet people.

As we know, the CC CPSU is paying greater attention to control over the implementation of decisions. More frequent reports are being submitted by managers on different levels who are personally responsible for some lines of work. The efforts of the USSR Council of Ministers, ministries, departments and party and soviet organs of republics, krays and oblasts have been directed along this line.

It was noted at the congress that the CC CPSU Party Control Committee and the party commissions of local party organs have energized their struggle against violations of party and state discipline. Nevertheless, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, control of execution remains a bottleneck in a considerable number of party organizations. Many shortcomings in economic activities are caused by the lack of an effective control system, and a bureaucratic management style. In a word, life urgently demands a conversion to the organization of control on a higher level, consistent with the requirements now set by the party.

II

Strategy and tactics, expressed above all in purposefulness, planning and systematic work, are needed in the exercise of party control, as in any major constructive activity. The most important prerequisite for successful control work is to be able to see the prospects, to focus one's efforts along the main directions and to reflect this in the planning of current operations and long-term

future tasks. The principles of planning must be firmly applied in this case if positive results are to be achieved. For the sake of truth, however, we must admit that occasionally such planning is not consistent. Matters are studied superficially and the level of summations, which would enable us to focus on what requires the prompt and concentrated influence of the control organ remains low. Frequently, urgent problems are pushed aside in favor of dealing with problems of turnover, the dispersal of forces among "hot points" and coping with unexpected petty problems.

Unquestionably, control must be many-levelled. Unexpected and unplanned situations have always come up and will continue to appear; it will always be necessary to investigate various urgent reports on all kinds of violations, shortcomings and troubles. This does not mean, however, that a commission must come from Moscow or from the republic or oblast center in each case. The power of control lies not so much in the level of the control organ or the number of people involved, but above all, in the objectivity, depth, principle-mindedness, publicity, ability to involve the party aktiv and to rely on the party organization. It is a question of the ability to select from among the important problems the ones considered crucial for a given period and to ensure proper quality control of such problems. A system of economy appears to be one such most important problem on a long-term basis. The stipulation that "the economy must be economical," which was formulated at the 26th CPSU Congress, is today the base on which the practical efforts of the party and the toiling masses merge. The CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Intensifying the Work on the Saving and Rational Utilization of Raw, Fuel-Energy and Other Material Resources" based on the congress' resolutions became an expanded program of specific measures aimed at upgrading production effectiveness and economic intensification.

In his speech at the ceremonies marking the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Georgian SSR and the Communist Party of Georgia, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "Our economy is not described as national [i.e. the people's] for no reason. Its entire development is subordinated to the people's good. We can block all losses providing that all of our party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol organizations and the entire nation become involved in this." In his profound substantiation of the need for a particularly thrifty attitude toward agricultural produce, L. I. Brezhnev emphasized that "Matters must be organized in such a way that literally no single kilogram of grain, fruit or vegetables is lost. Losses do not appear by themselves. They are caused by specific delinquents whom we are not adequately taking to task."

The tasks set by the CC CPSU general secretary open up the widest possible field of activity to the large army of party, people's, state, departmental and public controllers. The reliable blocking of losses of agricultural commodities means to make a very tangible contribution to the implementation of the food program currently being drafted. This will constitute a reliable base for upgrading the well-being of the Soviet people and reaching the main and truly historical objective set by the communist party.

I believe it unnecessary to prove that the importance of these tasks, the depth of the approach to the problem and the urgent need to resolve it are of literally epoch-making significance. Yes, the struggle for the implementation of these

instructions must and will most certainly take a prominent place in the activities of the party and the state and the life of all working people.

The party's slogan on economical and thrifty economic management has already given tremendous impetus to the creative thinking of scientists, engineers, production managers and rationalizers. Considerable reserves have been put to use since the congress, resulting in substantial deposits in the people's savings money-box. Chemical, machine-building and power-industry enterprises are seeking ways of conserving raw and other materials and utilizing additional energy sources. Persistent search and a truly statesmanlike approach enabled metallurgical enterprises to put to use production waste previously considered unusable. Following the example of the collectives in L'vovskaya Oblast railroad transportation and industrial enterprises, a system of measures for the effective utilization of freight cars is being adopted. All of this proves that each material production unit contains substantial reserves for more economical and effective management. On the surface, the call for economy is not new. However, never before has it been sounded with such force and belief in the most urgent need for a revolutionary change in the attitude of leading cadres and all workers toward this problem. This requires a sharp psychological turn of mind. I can assert on the basis of personal experience and long years of work in the party and its leading organs that this is the first time that problems of economy have been formulated on such a scale.

The problem of thrift and struggle against losses must become one of the leading concerns in ideological work. The press, the other information media, propagandists and agitators can do a great deal to put an end to the indifference which we frequently show toward the loss of goods, thriftlessness and waste. We must firmly promote a new attitude toward the people's property and a militant intolerance of even the slightest violation of the principle of economy and thrift.

At Party Control Committee meetings we frequently hear a high-level economic manager responsible for the waste of dozens of thousands of rubles, justify himself as follows: "We paid no attention to this, we overlooked it. This is a small amount compared with our turnover, which runs into the hundreds of millions of rubles." Yes, we are rich, our economy is growing and increasing amounts of money are being invested in it. However, this must make us even more thrifty in spending each state kopek. A manager who deals in millions of rubles must set the example in this area precisely, rather than thoughtlessly wasting state money in all directions, spending funds on the construction of cottages, hunting lodges or saunas without justification.

The control system cannot remain indifferent to the fact that some officials order expensive custom-made furniture for their offices and plunge into unnecessary remodelling and claim an urgent need for repairs of administrative premises. Sparing no expense, a former executive had a garland of chandeliers built in the ceiling of his office. The management of the Sistema Scientific-Production Association of the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building hardly had modesty or the saving of state funds in mind when they purchased expensive furniture, television sets, refrigerators and tape recorders for their offices. Rubles by the thousands were illegally spent on such luxuries.

As we see, the problem of economy and preservation of material values must not be considered simplistically and applicable, as they say in the military, only to privates and sergeants, to the middle command level, i.e., to the working people of a plant, kolkhoz, production association, warehouse, etc. Naturally, wasteful people are found here, too, and they must be taken severely to task. The purpose of control, however, is to identify higher-level culprits as well, to determine who on the higher command level, such as the personnel of planning organs, design organizations or higher management levels, has thoughtlessly and with excessive generosity drafted and approved plans, the implementation of which require unjustified and substantial outlays of monetary and material assets. Furthermore, there are frequent cases in which thoughtlessly installed production systems which have never been put to use, are dismantled or when valuable equipment becomes morally obsolete and is written off as a result of construction delays.

N. A. Mal'tsev, minister of petroleum industry and the collegium and many officials in the subdivisions of the ministry evidenced an irresponsible attitude toward the use of expensive equipment. The Nizhnevartovskneftegaz and Tomskneft' associations stockpiled substantial amounts of hard-to-obtain equipment and materials in the open. Some of them have already become unusable.

Today, when there is an obvious need to show greater strictness in combating losses, it becomes even more important for the control organs to identify the specific culprits by name, regardless of rank or official position. Anyone who allows major errors to result in losses must be held responsible for his negligence or ill-considered suggestions, recommendations or developments.

A Party Control Committee investigation exposed gross violations of state discipline in the planning and installation of the canal-lift at the Krasnoyarsk GES. All of this began when a group of Lengidrostat' designers headed by N. A. Dvorzhnyak, violated the procedure for the design and approval of the project and ambitiously insisted on the adoption of a variant, having extensively advertised it as the latest word in science and technology. The canal-lift, which took more than 25 years to design and to build, actually proved unsuitable for operating the installation. Dozens of millions of rubles were wasted on it, cost overruns exceeded original estimates by a factor of four, while its productivity proved to be one fifth of that planned. In this matter some senior officials of the USSR ministries of power and electrification and chemical and petroleum machine building, such as G. F. Maslovskiy and B. V. Pavlov and others, evidenced scandalous irresponsibility. Naturally, the delinquents were prosecuted. However, this did not reduce the damage caused to the state. It is important that such cases serve as a lesson in the future.

Recently the CC CPSU Party Control Committee checked the state of the preservation of paper in the course of its production and transportation. We came across a light-handed and irresponsible attitude concerning losses of this most valuable product obtained at the cost of hard work. For example, we came across the following fact: the Khabarovsk printing press had neither a suitably equipped area for loading newsprint nor specialized loaders. Virtually all paper rolls were damaged from being thrown on the ground. Above-norm losses totaled in excess of 500 tons over a 5-year period. Strangely enough, however, the enterprise has repeatedly been awarded red challenge banners and bonuses. In six enterprises in the cellulose and paper industry alone which were investigated, more than 4,000

tons of paper were lost as a result of substandard packaging, roll breakage, use of defective freight cars and violations of the rules governing the loading and securing of paper over a 3-year period.

How can the annual write-off of millions of rubles worth of obsolete, untopical or uninteresting books be described? In the Tenth Five-Year Plan the Tsentrsoyuz stores alone wrote off publications worth more than 19 million rubles. It is hard to accept this as a legitimate loss. Would it not be more accurate to describe it as a built-in loss in the publishing plans themselves?

The task of conserving material values has been made so urgent that one cannot even conceive of it without saving on labor and materials. Today a tremendous volume of goods is produced every minute. This makes the tangible losses caused by idling and absenteeism tangible. This is well-known to production workers.. But let us consider the area of management. Can it be considered normal for many officials in the economic, state and party apparatus to spend a substantial share of their time not in live organizational work or in organizing control of execution and participating in it most actively, but in sterile paper shuffling, pinpointing shortcomings and drafting resolutions which frequently duplicate previously unfulfilled ones?

Why is it that the time spent in the area of administration in sterile and protracted conferences, convened to discuss all sorts of problems which have long since been resolved by those present, but who nonetheless go on convincing one another of something they have all accepted, is not considered irretrievably lost?

Investigations have shown that roughly the following procedure has taken root in the work style of some organizations: the preparation of materials for the conference keeps the bulk of the administrative personnel busy; a conference is held at which the manager submits his report, followed, naturally, by long hours of discussion; various resolutions or directives are approved, as a rule encouraging the subordinate organization to follow the same procedure. By the time all of this has reached the lower echelons a new reason for holding another conference has developed, and everyone busies himself so that no time is left for organizational work or for checking on the implementation of previous decisions.

What comes to mind unwittingly is the pertinence of V. Mayakovskiy's poem, which met with Lenin's approval, in which he bitingly criticized "those who sit throughout conferences." In any case, there are serious reasons for questioning the excessive number of conferences held on the oblast, republic and even union levels, as well as large symposia and other meetings. What about the enthusiasm for pompous anniversary celebrations held with or without reason? The unnecessary stir raised on the occasion of a rather modest event involves summoning people from their jobs, the publication of albums and folders, the striking of medals and badges and the organization of sumptuous feasts.

We are driven to point out that such a style has nothing in common with real efficiency, that it is wasteful and inexpedient and that, furthermore, it does irreparable harm to the common cause. "The economy must be economical." This slogan is not only economic but political and moral as well. It must be extended to the areas of management and organization and directed at every worker,

regardless of his position, tirelessly educating the people in a spirit of conscientiousness, honesty, modesty and thrift.

Control, party control in particular, calls not for the impartial recording of successes and failures but for a profound analysis of both, for the ability to distinguish between true work and its appearance. Specific recommendations must be issued on how to organize the work better, how to reduce expenditures and how, in the best sense of the term, to revitalize those who have grown slack, lost their feeling of responsibility and forgotten the fact that it is inadmissible to put personal interests above those of the state.

Finally, it is time to eliminate the practice, condemned by the party and the government, of taking enterprise and organization personnel away from their work for the sake of participation in a variety of mass measures in the line of physical culture, sports or amateur artistic activities. It is equally intolerable when central and local social organizations plan in advance and carry out a variety of reviews, contests, rallies and competitions for which large numbers of workers and employees are taken away from their jobs. A monstrous amount of time and vast funds are spent on transporting them to such meets, which are sometimes held hundreds or thousands of kilometers away from home. Letters sent by the working people report, for example, that working people are taken from their jobs in order to participate in competition-reviews for 1 day on the enterprise level, 3-4 days on the rayon level, and 5-6 days on the oblast level.

Supporters of large and colorful undertakings believe that all of this promotes the development of physical culture and amateur performances. The opposite, however, is the truth: activities carried out for the sake of a good report or to "show off" hinder the truly mass involvement of the population in the daily practice of physical culture or participation in amateur activities as a form of recreation.

The control organs as well must be blamed for adopting a passive stance toward the illegally legalized squandering of working time. Such problems have not found their proper place in the work plans of many party organizations despite the precise and authoritative CC CPSU, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On Further Strengthening Labor Discipline and Reducing Cadre Turnover in the National Economy." As we know, the bad practice of taking people away from their jobs for the sake of participation in mass projects was firmly condemned in that document.

III

Like other areas of party activities, control must reflect in its ways and means anything new born of the creativity of the masses themselves or dictated by the entire course of social developments, the increased complexity of political tasks and the expanded scale of economic and cultural construction. The tempestuous and shifting current of our life washes the shores of control with its fresh waves, like a river. Its foundations are supplied with new revivifying juices, based on such time-tested and inviolable principles as mass and systematic involvement, principle-mindedness, effectiveness, publicity, etc.

Need we mention them in detail and describe their nature once again? Would this not represent an unnecessary reiteration of the truth? No, for it is important and quite valuable to repeat familiar truths not for the sake of repetition but for the

sake of training and practice, for the sake of action, struggle and creation. Can we forget the fact that the party grows and develops, and that a change of generations takes place within it? Ever new fighters are joining its ranks, mainly young ones. It is our duty to help them to stand firmly on their feet and to learn how to find their way accurately in the endless sea of life and in each new specific situation as it arises. The new generation turns to Lenin's works, from which it draws the necessary knowledge and party wisdom. It is good when the party members belonging to the senior generations pass on to the young the profound essence of the Leninist work style with all its fine points, doing this not as edification but as closely related to reality, simply, warmly, humanly. Such reiteration of familiar truths established through struggle and learned through hard work can hardly ever lose its tremendous importance.

Let us recall in this connection some stipulations borrowed from the most precious Leninist heritage in the area of control and verification of execution. When the Central Control Commission was set up and, subsequently, when it was merged with the Workers and Peasants Inspectorate, Lenin gave priority to the fact that the control organs themselves were to set an example worthy of emulation, both from the viewpoint of organizing the work within them, the creation of the most economical structure, the appointment of most strictly tested personnel, and the high effectiveness of their activities and favorable influence on the state of affairs in establishments, departments and labor collectives.

The best among the best joined the party, state and public control organs. They included party and nonparty members who, as Lenin said, could be relied upon to accept nothing on faith and to do nothing against their conscience, and who would be unafraid of any kind of struggle to achieve their seriously set targets (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 45, pp 391-392).

These people justified the trust of the party which had raised them. They set the style of party control and laid the beginnings of its great traditions. They gained most valuable experience which was made available to the party, and comprehensively increased and is enriching it to this day. This rust-proof and ever new weapon has served impeccably and will continue to serve. It helps to improve the party control exercised daily by all primary party organizations and party organs, from the CC CPSU Secretariat to the rayon party committees.

Principle-mindedness is the most important foundation of party control. Each investigation and review of its activities is based on party-wide, national interests and need for their systematic and firm protection. There are no allowances made for departmental or parochial, much less personal considerations! Instead, the edge of control activity is uncompromisingly aimed at such phenomena in which, to the detriment of the common cause and contrary to collective efforts, priority is given to the egotistical objectives of "one's ministry," "one's rayon" or "one's person." Party control means exposing anything which conflicts with the Leninist norms of party life, communist morality the requirements of the CPSU program and bylaws with inflexible firmness and without even the slightest concession or hesitation.

After the 25th congress nearly 300,000 people were expelled from the party for actions incompatible with the title of communist. Furthermore, 91,000 candidates were refused party membership, as the investigation of their political, practical

and moral qualities proved them unworthy to bear this high title. The 26th congress reemphasized that our attitude toward those who behave unworthily and who violate the party bylaws and the norms of party morality is and will be one of intolerance. No allowances can be made for anyone when it becomes a question of the honor and prestige of our party and the purity of its ranks. The high exigency shown toward its members is a prerequisite for the monolithic unity of the CPSU and its ability to head the socialist society and to lead the Soviet people on the road to communism.

Let us point out that in party control practice it is sometimes difficult to distinguish among the areas of control over the observance of the party's program and bylaws and norms of party morality and the investigation of the execution of decisions. No strict watershed exists here, as one is related to and converts into the other.

Any party member, and in particular any party worker who has been trained by working within the party control organs, will agree that it is precisely in this area, in this sector, in the course of the control process and the study of its results, that one must always adopt a principled position and that there is no justifiable alternative to this.

Control is demanding work. "In order to control like a party member, like a Leninist," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized, "one must 'sharpen the edges,' be unafraid of spoiling relations, raise questions openly and boldly, take each signal coming from below into consideration." There can be no indifference, conciliation, appeasement, prejudice, manipulation with accidental petty occurrences or deliberate exaggeration of facts. Ideological firmness, strict objectivity, incorruptibility in the assessment of accurately proven facts, a respectful attitude toward people and the ability to hear them out are the reliable sources of true party principle-mindedness.

Unquestionably, principle-mindedness demands courage and firmness. These are mandatory prerequisites for party work, control in particular. The conditions under which the party controller operates cannot be classified as protected or worry-free. He must frequently plunge into the thick of life, deal with the unknown, and be closely exposed to what may seem abstract notions to some, for example "contradiction," "conflict," "personality clashes" and "struggle between the old and the new." He is a direct and profoundly interested participant in the uncompromising struggle and the formulation of sharp class-political assessments and conclusions, whenever his investigation faces him with facts and phenomena alien to the socialist system, above all criminally neglectful attitude, toward socialist property, greed, bribery, drunkenness and violations of the public order. Naturally, the party controller encounters not only approval and support, but also finds himself in official situations in which he works "under the gun" of ill-wishers, of people who would like to cover things up and protect the guilty. Occasionally this reaches the point of open intervention in the investigation or attempts to force the controller to abandon his positions. To extract oneself from such tangles and to guide the investigation among the reefs and shoals is no easy matter. It requires firmness, persistence, strong character and the ability to neutralize, to render harmless, the intrigues of unwanted defenders or connivers. The times themselves demand that we act more firmly against the opposite of party principle-mindedness -- liberalism -- to determine its harm and to hold accountable

the militant liberals, all those who, using their official position, try to exert pressure or influence the course of investigations or the condition of criticism and self-criticism unacceptably. We must not forget Lenin's instructions in this matter. "...Pressure," Lenin wrote, is an illegal action" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 53, p 109). And illegal actions must not go unpunished.

A party-minded, a principle-minded approach must imbue the activities not only of party but of any type of control -- be it national, social or departmental. Members of the party participate in the control process, whether conducted by a departmental inspectorate or a permanent or ad hoc commission. They cannot artificially separate their official obligations from the requirements of the CPSU bylaws. Guided by their party duty, party members as a rule rise above departmental interests. Occasionally, they even feel the pressure of the departmentalists. Nevertheless, they stand firm on their principled positions. The majority of the nonparty members of investigative commissions follow their civic conscience as well.

This constitutes an exceptionally important circumstance. We have repeatedly seen that the main reason for multiple-step investigations, when one commission is rapidly followed by another, is most frequently the result of the former's failure to display the necessary depth, objectivity and principle-mindedness. The most annoying feature of all this is that in the majority of cases it is not the result of a lack of professional skill on the part of the investigators, but of their insufficiently firm party stand, as they acted hesitantly, looking over his shoulder at an official who had expressed or could express displeasure. This precisely is what the lack of principle-mindedness means.

Nor is any other conclusion possible when objective or, to speak frankly, harsh conclusions drawn by the investigators fall into the hands of those who would like to modify this harshness and wrap it in the cotton of liberalism. Principles should not be violated for the sake of serving someone's desire to protect a culprit from strict responsibility. Leniency is particularly dangerous, and not in such cases alone. It has a long-term effect, for it clearly dooms future investigation to ineffectiveness and creates confidence in their impunity in potential delinquents.

There have been many cases in the practical experience of the CC CPSU Party Control Committee and local party committees in which decisions made at other levels have been reviewed and substantial corrections made in assessments and conclusions based on liberal positions and blanket pardons on the part of investigative commissions and the organs whose instructions they carried out.

Recently the Party Control Committee considered the case of the improper behavior of party member A. S. Bondarenko, general director of the Tol'yattinskiy Zavod Tekhnologicheskogo Osnashcheniya Production Association. He ignored the requirements of state discipline, abused his official position, gave unwarranted bonuses to people close to him and behaved extremely rudely toward his subordinates. A. A. Tkachenko, the head of the Soyuzstroymashavtomatizatsiya Industrial Association, was familiar with some of these facts. Nevertheless, he adopted an unprincipled position. It was then that a group of party members turned to the Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building, the Heavy

Machine Building Workers Trade Union Central Committee and the Tol'yatti Gorkom with the request that this administrator, who had overstepped the mark, be fired.

The investigation of the facts mentioned in the letter was assigned to G. V. Korovkin, deputy head of the ministry's cadre and schools administration; L. D. Dudchenko, deputy department head at the trade union's central committee; G. Z. Sokolovskiy and S. D. Yakovleva, from the all-union industrial association; and L. V. Chikshev, city party committee instructor. However, they conducted an unconscientious and superficial investigation. The respective organizations as well failed to draw principled conclusions. Bondarenko, who, as the saying goes, got off easy, decided to play out his hand and began to get rid of the inconvenient personnel. It was at that point that the Party Control Committee decided to intervene and to act in accordance with Soviet law and the norms of party life.

According to the logic of the struggle, justice triumphed. When such things occur, however, many bothersome problems remain for a long time. "What prevented the truth a proper guideline from being established at the very beginning of the ripening conflict, when the first signals were being investigated? Why did all of this take weeks and months?" Let us repeat: the obstacles were liberalism, connivance, maintaining the "honor of the uniform," false prestige and the unwillingness "to wash one's dirty linen in public."

Naturally, there might have been no need for any kind of commission had the primary party organization, its aktiv and the management adopted a firm position on principled matters, and had the party members felt fully responsible for the situation in the collective and the behavior of each one of its members. This is the key to the solution of numerous and frequently acute problems which inevitably appear wherever people are at work and wherever people fight to eliminate the old and to establish the new, and where right and wrong clash.

The creative principles of party control are rooted in the foundations of the party and its primary organizations. Control viability and effectiveness depend to a decisive extent on the way it has been organized. The 26th CPSU Congress, which reemphasized the need for the further energizing of the activities of the primary party organizations, linked this problem most directly to two mandatory conditions: first, that the local party organizations pay constant attention to it and that the primary organizations themselves make better and fuller use of their right to control both administrative activities and the work of management in implementing party and government directives and obeying Soviet laws.

The primary party organizations are the political nucleus of the labor collectives. They are at the very origins of production, political and social life. They also have great opportunities for exerting an active influence on all processes which take place within the labor collective. It is here that we find the cutting edge of the struggle for the implementation of state plans, for economy and thrift and for the conservation and multiplication of the people's property. It is here that the manner in which the work is organized, the extent of its productivity and who is being rewarded for it and to what extent are most noticeable.

From such a close position within the framework of the labor collective, it is not very difficult to notice manifestations of egotism, philistinism, acquisitiveness and indifference toward the people's concerns and accomplishments. Is it not here

that we must wage the struggle against drunkenness and other ugly phenomena and for a healthy way of life?

Naturally, none of this is simple. However, it can be accomplished by the majority of the members of labor collectives, providing that they make use of all means of ideological, political and organizational influence for the sake of improving the level of organization and discipline, and providing that they themselves, not waiting for instructions, raise their exigency toward themselves and their fellow-workers. This is not new. However, it must be mentioned, for there still are many primary party organizations which are still exercising their right to control the activity of administrations inadequately.

It is regrettable to hear the manager of a superior economic organization present at a discussion of the results of a party control investigation say with some annoyance that "We received no statements expressing concern." However, we are puzzled when we hear the same statement made by the secretary of the bureau of a primary party organization. He too occasionally complains that he was totally unaware of the facts which in the final account forced the control organ to become involved. What kind of relations exist with party and nonparty members when they do not deem it necessary to go to their leading organ, to share their thoughts and observations and to express critical remarks? To what extent do the secretary and the members of an elective organ lose their perception as to what is taking place around them if they stop noticing what truly excites and concerns the people?

Let us point out that in some party organizations the party members are not only timid in organizing control but are wary of passing resolutions based on the results of investigations conducted by superior party organs. They smooth the sharp edges of the problems which arise, try to circumvent errors and shortcomings and spare the pride of those accused of violating party and state discipline. They reach a hasty decision when the meeting is drawing to an end, and that is the end of it. Would it not be more expedient to proceed as follows: to submit their decision to the meeting, to invite the party members to voice their views on the subject, to thoroughly determine its causes and to formulate the type of measures which would prevent its repetition in the future? This would strengthen the positions of the party bureau and the party committee within the organization and the position of the party members in the labor collective.

The occasional view that the primary party organizations should not become involved in the work of the administration with the cadres still occasionally prevails. This is incorrect. In accordance with the CPSU bylaws, the party organizations have the right to control all of the administration's activities. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said in the Central Committee's accountability report that "When it is a question of cadre problems, implementation of economic plans or improving the working and living conditions of the people, the party organizations must display principle-mindedness. They must not follow the administration if the latter is acting improperly. In a word, they must firmly promote the party line." This means that the existing forms of control must be used most directly and more effectively, that comradely criticism must be developed, that reports and communications must be submitted by party members more frequently, that individual talks must be held with party members, and so on.

We must not forget that the state of control in the primary party organizations is a kind of tuning fork for all control work in labor collectives, which determines the successful implementation of the important task set by the 26th CPSU Congress "...To increase the control exercised by the trade unions and all labor collectives in order to resolve all problems related to the work and way of life of the people and increase their participation in production planning and management, cadre selection and deployment and effective utilization of enterprise and organization funds."

The party organizations of ministries, establishments and departments have been granted extensive authority. However, sometimes they do not make full use of their control rights and fail to show persistence in eliminating departmental and bureaucratic barriers or dealing with the irresponsibility displayed by some officials. As was pointed out at the congress, the party committees of ministries and departments must watch over the interests of the state more firmly and uncompromisingly and show greater initiative and principle-mindedness. Even a good worker can fall into bad habits when there is no constant exigency and when control and criticism are sporadic. This is precisely the reason for conceit, conservative support of obsolete work methods, lack of modesty, etc.

Party control can accomplish a great deal in terms of developing in all labor collectives the healthy moral and psychological climate which helps to develop open and impartial criticism and self-criticism and which excludes anonymous slander. The proper organization of party control is a mandatory condition for the prompt and most decisive rebuff of attempts to suppress criticism. The party's position on this matter is clearly stipulated in the CPSU bylaws and is reflected in the USSDR Constitution. The party and state laws call for no tolerance toward the suppressors of criticism!

A number of spheres and areas of ideological work are being reorganized in accordance with the CC CPSU decree "On the Further Improvement of Ideological and Political-Educational work." Measures are being adopted to update its content and to make its forms consistent with the contemporary requirements and needs of the Soviet people. Obviously, control has a great deal in common with ideological and political-educational work, for which reason it is also affected by reorganization. The task of increasing control publicity and creating conditions for providing more extensive information on investigations and the resulting adopted is a mandatory one.

It would be no exaggeration to say that party control performs important educational and ideological functions. In any case, it would be difficult to conceive of it without such functions. Does each investigation and subsequent resolution not represent a serious conversation on an acute sociopolitical topic? The aim of party control is to strengthen the force of the law and the inviolability of party norms as well as to enhance the activeness and responsibility of party members and officials. This is one of its most important constructive functions.

Let us point out in conclusion the great role which our party journalism plays in improving control. For the sake of fairness we must point out that in recent years the central and local party press has considerably increased the number of articles on the organization of party control and on ways and means of improving its

activities. Many local publishing houses have issued anthologies on the positive experience gained in the implementation of party control, or have published separate works on this topic.

Judging from the responses from party activists and the working people's letters, the reports issued by the CC CPSU Party Control Committee on the results of its consideration of one problem or another are of great help in combating negative phenomena and strengthening party and state discipline. Obviously, the channels through which party control work is publicized must be broadened. Particular attention must be paid to the effectiveness of oral and printed statements and to the conclusions already reached or about to be reached, in the interests of strengthening party and state discipline and the norms of communist morality.

The communist party firmly follows Lenin's behests in all matters related to the management of economic and sociopolitical processes in our society. It enriches and develops Lenin's scientific organizational norms and principles. In formulating and systematically implementing its political line on each separate occasion, the party is particularly concerned with the comprehensive assertion of the Leninist work style and with improving the activities of all management and administration levels. This has been reflected in the decisions of the 23rd, 24th, 25th and 26th CPSU congresses and in a number of Central Committee decrees. The systematic development of intraparty democracy and socialist democracy as a whole is the solid foundation for the fruitful activities of the party and the people to this day.

The party has always paid particular attention to control and verification of execution and to the further improvement of this strongest of all party weapons. In this connection the recent CC CPSU decrees "On the State of Control and Verification of Execution at the USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry" and "On Measures for the Further Improvement of Work With the Letters and Suggestions of the Working People in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress" offer a specific work program. Every party member and Soviet person regards the further enhancement of the level of control and all organizational and educational activity as an important incentive for active creative work and a guarantee for new successes in economic and cultural construction.

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SHIFTING MANUAL LABOR TO MACHINES

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[Article by Yu. Demin]

[Text] The comprehensive increase in public production effectiveness was particularly singled out by the 26th party congress among the most important national economic tasks of the 1980s and the current 5-year plan. "Each sector has its topical tasks and specific problems," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in the CC CPSU accountability report to the congress. "There are problems, however, which cover all areas of the national economy, the most important of which is to complete the transition to a primarily intensive line of development."

Our country has entered a new decade and its powerful economic and scientific and technical potential is contributing to the solution of these problems. However, the path of intensification is not simple. One of the factors which complicates economic development under the 11th Five-Year Plan, as compared with the 10th, is the slower increase in manpower resources. The increased volume of output must be achieved almost entirely through higher labor productivity. Intensive development is possible only on the basis of accelerated scientific and technical progress and the substitution of machines for hard, underproductive manual labor. The drastic reduction of the sphere of application of this latter type of labor will create conditions for upgrading work effectiveness and quality.

However, not only the economic but the social aspect of the problem is important. Under socialism labor is not only a source of social wealth and the basic means of existence but, increasingly, a means of self-expression and self-assertion of the Soviet people. Their need for interesting, meaningful and creative work is increasing steadily. It is precisely such labor that contributes to the display of everyone's knowledge, capabilities and talents, and helps to mold the comprehensively developed member of the communist society.

I

With the development of production forces and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress the volume of productive capital grows faster than the number of workers who utilize it. The material and technical foundations of labor undergo qualitative changes. During the 10th Five-Year Plan more than 1,200 big industrial enterprises were commissioned in the country. They are distinguished by their high production standards and good working conditions. The series manufacturing of

about 20,000 new types of equipment and ways and means of automation was undertaken. Sixty thousand mechanized assembly and automated production lines were installed. Scientific and technical progress substantially changes the functional content of the workers' labor and its complexity. Such changes are one of the progressive laws of the socialist production process.

Nevertheless, in absolute terms the scale on which manual labor is used in the country remains vast. The level of mechanization is rising mainly as a result of the newly commissioned enterprises and shops, while operating production facilities (auxiliary in particular) are still being converted to the track of contemporary scientific and technical progress slowly. As a result, the manpower saved at many enterprises by upgrading the technical standards of basic production is often reduced to naught, being literally eroded by auxiliary processes.

Currently more than 40 million people are engaged in manual labor (excluding repairs); industry accounts for about two fifths, construction for more than one half, and agriculture, commerce and loading and unloading operations, more than two thirds. "This is not only an economic but also a serious social problem," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said at the congress. "To resolve it requires removing existing barriers along the path toward making labor a prime vital need of every person."

Major difficulties arise in recruiting production workers in areas where the nature of the job does not require of the worker any sort of serious professional skill or creativity. Enterprises are always short of loaders, haulers, auxiliary workers and so on. It is precisely among these that turnover is high (young people in particular). Young men and women are attracted by professions which require the application of the knowledge acquired during training, creative and meaningful work involving the use of equipment. The stressed manpower balance and the vital need to increase the number of people employed in the nonproduction area ever more urgently require the use of mechanized rather than manual labor. This will release manpower for the newly completed enterprises, for double-shift equipment use and for employment in the developing service industry. This remains the biggest reserve for the conservation of the country's manpower.

Foreseeing the reduced increase in manpower resources in the 1980s, the party took the timely precaution of laying a machine-building foundation aimed at a considerable reduction in underproductive manual labor. An 8-year program for the accelerated development of production of proper equipment was adopted as early as 1973. Four ministries -- heavy and transport machine building, construction, road and municipal machine building, electrical equipment industry and automotive industry -- were instructed to build 25 and reconstruct 33 plants for the specialized production of conveyor belts, automotive and electric-powered hoists, coal, ore and construction material cargo handling equipment, stackers, automatic manipulators, etc. The plan was to increase the production of such equipment by a factor of 2-2.5 within the stipulated time. However, as was noted at the November 1979 CC CPSU Plenum, this program was not fulfilled.

During the 10th Five-Year Plan, approximately 400 enterprises under 40 ministries and departments were engaged in the production of lifting and hauling equipment. This was done primarily with the help of underpowered nonspecialized facilities, frequently on the basis of custom blueprints. This sharply reduced economic

effectiveness (the cost of such output at specialized plants is less by one half and its quality is considerably higher).

Displaying their initiative and socialist enterprising spirit, the leading enterprises in the country, such as the Kuybyshev aerospace plant, the Prompribor Production association in Orel, the Gor'kiy and Moscow imeni Likhachev automotive plants, the Sverdlovsk Machine Building Plant imeni Kalinin, the Rostov Krasnyy Aksay Plant, the Volgograd motors plant, the Petrodvorets time mechanisms plant and others, undertook to reduce manual labor through their own efforts by manufacturing all sorts of attachments, intershop conveyors and other aids. It was precisely through the efforts of such collectives that tremendous social results were achieved during the last five-year plan: more than two million manual workers were replaced by mechanization facilities and 750,000 people were relieved of heavy physical work. The experience of these enterprise proves that many problems in so-called minor mechanization can be successfully resolved by the plants and factories themselves (frequently without substantial capital investments).

Unfortunately, however, many enterprises fail to take into consideration the future development of the economy, the demographic situation and the social aspect of the problem. They tolerate the existence of substantial volumes of heavy and underproductive labor. In such collectives output is increased not through mechanization and automation but by taking additional cadres away from other enterprises, plants and factories, relying, as the saying goes, on the "ruble" interest. The constant moving of people from one collective to another intensifies turnover and hinders the implementation of state plans.

II

The reduction of manual labor outlays requires the planned implementation of technical, organizational and socioeconomic measures and a comprehensive approach to the solution of this problem. It was precisely such efforts that were made under the last five-year plan under the slogan "Let Us Shift Manual Labor to Machines!" in all industrial sectors, construction, agriculture, trade and services in Zaporozhskaya Oblast.

The party obkom, which headed this project, took into consideration the specific characteristics of the various enterprises and their different technical and organizational standards. Experience proved that improving labor conditions in a plant or factory invariably led to an influx of manpower coming from neighboring enterprises managed by other departments where no such conditions were being offered. If the proportion of technically substantiated norms is high, workers inevitably move to enterprises with less strict norms, etc. In a word, the problem of efficient utilization of labor resources must be resolved on a comprehensive basis, on the intersectorial level and without allowing a narrow departmental approach, even within the same oblast. Such requirements fully apply to the problem of reducing the amount of heavy, monotonous and unattractive work.

In order to have a clear picture of the level of mechanization of technological operations, work places, sectors and shops, public commissions were set up at each enterprise in Zaporozhskaya Oblast at the suggestion of the party obkom. They scrupulously took stock of all heavy and manual types of work, filed the information and made consolidated lists by subunit and enterprise. The types of

work whose mechanization in the immediate future would be inexpedient or technically impossible were deleted from the lists for the time being. At the same time, the types of operations for whose mechanization real possibilities existed and which promised high returns were identified. These data were of great help in formulating the plans for the economic and social development of the labor collectives, and for the adoption of specific measures for the mechanization and easing of manual work. Their success was assured by the broad participation of the working people and the creation of an atmosphere of creative search in all collectives. A public topic competition for the formulation of effective technical solutions for reducing manual labor outlays, sponsored by the Zaporozhskaya Oblast Trade Unions Council and the oblast VOIR [All-Union Society of Inventors and Rationalizers] and NTO [Scientific and Technical Society] councils played an important role in this project. Comprehensive creative brigades in which workers, engineering and technical personnel and scientists joined efforts made a substantial number of suggestions.

In the course of the competition, the activities of young rationalizer courses were energized. They were given by specialists from rationalization and inventions bureaus, chiefs of shops and sectors, and production frontrankers and innovators. Experienced workers helped the students to formulate rationalization proposals. A public patent information institute was organized in Zaporozh'ye. Evening consultation points were established at the oblast and rayon centers to provide information on procedures for filling out and submitting declarations on rationalization suggestions and invention statements. Their authors were given practical assistance in assessing potential economic effectiveness.

Organizational and technical measures for the elimination of manual work were included in the social development plans of all Zaporozhskaya Oblast enterprises. Their implementation was put under the control of the public councils of the party obkom and gorkoms. They included scientists, practical workers, party, economic and trade union workers and technical specialists. The city and oblast directors' councils played a major role in reducing the volume of manual work. More than 100 experimental shops, sectors and laboratories for the application of progressive technology and for production mechanization and automation were created with their help in Zaporozhskaya Oblast. The directors' councils also helped in placing orders for the necessary equipment, attachments and instruments.

During the 10th Five-Year Plan, the work of nearly 77,000 people was mechanized and about 24,000 workers were relieved of heavy manual work in the national economic sectors of Zaporozhskaya Oblast. On the whole, the oblast's level of mechanization exceeded the planned figure and reached 56.1 percent. A total of 520 mechanized assembly and automated lines were installed, and 340 sectors and shops were comprehensively mechanized.

Providing the enterprises with a "backup" of modern equipment and the mechanization of warehousing and loading and unloading operations created conditions for the training of stable cadres and strengthened labor discipline by changing the nature and content of jobs and lowering the fatigue level. The movement of the Zaporozh'ye area working people under the slogan "Let Us Shift Manual Labor to Machines!" became a university for civic maturity. It was given a high rating by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, who called it evidence of a true party and businesslike approach to the implementation of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

Similar comprehensive programs were carried out in Chelaybinskaya, Kuybyshevskaya and some other oblasts. The party organs assumed the main burden of the organizational work on the formulation and implementation of the program for the elimination of manual labor. However, naturally, it would be inexpedient for them to continue in this role in the future. The party committees have their own tasks. Furthermore, they cannot resolve problems which exceed the boundaries of an oblast, kray or republic, for many processes involving the use of manual labor have their specific features varying from sector to sector. The machine builders are unwilling to manufacture a few pieces of equipment or attachments which are sometimes needed by only a few enterprises. Meanwhile, the experimental shops, sectors and laboratories of associations and plants are frequently underpowered and often produce imperfect and expensive mechanization facilities. They are unable to produce highly effective machine and equipment systems which will ensure the mechanization of auxiliary production processes.

The center of gravity in the area of reducing manual labor must be shifted to the union and republic planning organs, ministries and departments. The elaboration of comprehensive sectorial and intersectorial target programs and, on this basis, the creation of a domestic mechanization base, will enable us to eliminate the great variety in terms of the qualitative level of new developments and the time it takes for their application, to save substantial funds which will not need to be spent by enterprises in parallel work and searches for already developed items, to organize a more successfully specialized and cooperated production process, and to ensure the systematic retraining and reassignment of the workers released.

Such experience has been acquired in Latvia. During their 10th Five-Year Plan, 14 republic ministries and 65 plants under union jurisdiction were involved in the implementation of a comprehensive program for the mechanization of manual and heavy physical work. Related planning of deadlines and stages of work, from scientific research to the implementation of an idea, and efficient interaction among coperformers made it possible to implement more than 5,000 measures, to relieve about 16,000 working people of manual labor, and to mechanize production processes in which 17,000 people were engaged in heavy physical labor. Such measures accounted for more than half of Latvia's overall increase in labor productivity.

Unfortunately, the number of such examples is very small. Union and republic ministries have still not become actively involved in the effort to reduce manual labor simultaneously in basic and auxiliary production processes, to improve the planning and coordination of scientific work in this area, to place orders for mechanization facilities in accordance with the nature of the enterprises, and to ensure their efficient specialization.

III

As the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress emphasize, profound changes will be systematically carried out during the 1980s in the most important area of human activity -- labor. Working conditions will be improved and eased and broad opportunities will be provided for highly productive and creative work. It is planned that the share and volume of manual labor will be systematically reduced on the basis of the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the implementation of a comprehensive target program for the mechanization of manual

labor. Consequently, local initiative will be supported by a variety of major national economic measures.

The conversion from individual and isolated solutions to the elaboration of a comprehensive target program for the mechanization of manual labor is a complex matter requiring that considerable difficulties be surmounted. There is no centralized management for this project on a national scale, and there is no single scientific and technical, design, information and production base.

As we know, mechanization and automation are being applied today in many sectors. However, they have hardly affected assembling operations. The following paradox arises: the shops manufacture assemblies and parts with the help of highly effective equipment, while the finished goods are assembled manually. Yet the labor intensiveness of such operations substantially exceeds labor outlays in other technological processes. Characteristically, for example, in many sectors, such as instrument and machine-tool manufacturing, relative labor intensiveness in assembling operations has been rising steadily because the items themselves have become more complex. Currently, no more than 25-50 percent of assembly work is mechanized and no more than 6 percent automated in machine building. Meanwhile, automated equipment is still being made on the basis of custom design, and work on the development of standardized mechanisms and assemblies remains poorly coordinated. This leads to a waste of effort and unjustified variety designs, which is sometimes inconsistent with modern requirements.

At the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out the truly revolutionary potential offered by the development of miniaturized electronic controlling machines and industrial robots. In the final account, it is automatic manipulators precisely which must take over not only the physical but part of the information aspects of human activities, such as, for example, the ability to perceive the environment and to adapt to it. Unfortunately, first generation robots, which obey rigidly set programs, frequently are rendered totally inoperative by the slightest change in their work environment. For example, if a piece to be machined is not found in its proper place, the robot grabs at air with its "arm" as it continues with the "operation." It is equally unable to pick up a part moving along a conveyor belt or select the one it needs from among several parts.

Naturally, such manipulators will continue to be used. Together with them, however, second generation robots capable of reacting to changed production circumstances must be applied extensively in the immediate future. To this end, they are being equipped with systems roughly similar to human sensory organs. The development of such robots is a good base for the creation of standardized technological systems which can perform the basic types of assembly operations, as well as fully automated shops and production lines.

However, neither the scale of research nor the creation of a technical base for production of these items can as yet promise a speedy solution of the problems. Our industry is producing virtually no systems which will let a robot react to its environment; it is not producing small, precise and reliable counters which could be mounted on the "fingers" or "wrists" of the manipulators. The organization of the production of such systems is an important task facing the Ministry of

Electrical Equipment Industry, Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems and the Ministry of Electronics Industry.

Naturally, robots frequently prove to be expensive and the economic results of their use insignificant, according to conventional accounting methods. However, economic managers have no alternative, as it is a choice between manual and automated labor. The question should be formulated as follows: automatic machine or empty workplace and reduced output? We also believe that the method used for determining the effectiveness of labor mechanization facilities has become obsolete. It is based on estimates of wage savings. However, we must take into account annual wage payments, benefits from the social funds for the reproduction of manpower and the fact that robots do not require housing, or cafeteria and school facilities, and that they take over difficult, unattractive and sometimes dangerous types of work, thus giving people the freedom to engage in creative toil. It is true that the use of manipulators in some sectors may not yield the necessary results. Such results can be achieved only by creating robot complexes, sectors and shops, organizing their operations in the best possible manner and ensuring the interoperational movement of parts.

The training of the necessary cadres for the servicing, tuning and repairing of robot equipment is a major problem. Currently, such personnel are being trained in some VUZs in the country. However, we need not only engineers but also technicians, and to an even greater degree, highly skilled tuners and operational workers. Obviously, the vocational-technical training system enters into play. The training of cadres should parallel the development of new technical mechanization facilities. This must become a structural component of the target program for the reduction of manual labor.

Let us also mention the grave problem of supplying assembly workers with mechanized tools. So far, we have not organized the production of nut and bolt screwing machines and vibrating bins in the country. Lack of departmental coordination is a great hindrance. The Ministry of Construction, Road and Municipal Machine Building and the Ministry of Automotive Industry are producing mechanized tools essentially for their own needs. Many enterprises in other sectors, lacking a substantial instrument-producing base, have no such capacity. Essentially, the final link -- assembly line machine building -- in the chain of work designed to eliminate manual labor is still missing.

A number of suggestions have been published in the press about the creation of a separate sector for the production of mechanization facilities. However, this would not resolve the problem as a whole either, for even a specialized sector cannot meet the requirements of an entire range of different enterprises. Obviously, it would be expedient for each ministry to organize its own mechanization base, as has been done, for example, in the electrical engineering industry. The production process could be conventionally divided into three groups: mechanization and automation shops and sectors, other subdivisions and services engaged in the elimination of manual labor exclusively at their own enterprises. The needs of the subsector would be met by specialized institutes and base shops in charge of the mechanization and automation of all-union industrial associations. A ministry base would be necessary for the development and series production of specialized technological equipment and fittings for general sectorial use. It would include a number of technological institutes with their

experimental and specialized machine-building plants which, in the example we have chosen, could be part of the Soyuzelektrotekhnologiya All-Union Industrial Association.

The auxiliary unit could be handled by a separate sector or subsector in charge of the manufacturing of mechanization facilities, for in this area the specific nature of the production process is less important. According to the Central Statistical Administration, the number of people employed in transportation, loading, unloading, wrapping and packaging freight runs between 26 and 33 percent of all the workers in the various economic sectors. Their labor productivity is lower by a factor of two or three than that of workers engaged in basic production. It is the comprehensive mechanization of such operations precisely that will yield considerable economic and social results. As a rule, capital investments in this area can be recovered faster by a factor of 4-5, while the volume of manpower released is superior to that freed in the implementation of similar measures in basic production by a factor of 3-6.

The high labor intensiveness of transportation and warehousing operations and the considerable cost of such work are due, above all, to the low machine-labor ratio non-comprehensive mechanization and the inefficient structure of the fleet of hoisting and conveyance equipment, which fails to meet contemporary industrial needs. In particular, the proportion of cranes to which the freight must be secured manually remains high. Furthermore, there is an acute shortage of ground-type hauling machinery, consisting mostly of fork and gas operated lift trucks and trolleys which, as we know, must be loaded and unloaded manually.

According to VNIIPtmash [All-Union Scientific Research, Planning and Design Institute of Hoisting and Conveying Machinery, Loading, Unloading and Warehouse Equipment and Containers] data, the needs of the USSR national economy for hoisting and conveying equipment were only 70 percent covered during the 10th Five-Year plan, and even less than that for the following individual types of equipment: conveyers, transporters and other types of uninterrupted-conveyance facilities, 65 percent; and warehousing equipment, no more than 30-33 percent.

The lag in the production of ground-type hauling equipment is particularly alarming. According to specialists' estimates, the construction of plants for the production of loaders and self propelling trolleys in some republics, krays and oblasts, regardless of departmental affiliation, would save the national economy some 960 million rubles annually and release about 760,000 workers.

Many other problems are awaiting their solution. As we know, all goods produced must be repeatedly moved. The country has an entire network of warehouses, docks and transportation-reloading systems. However, each department builds them according to its own designs. As a result, the dimensions of new warehouses are frequently such that they cannot accomodate modern loading and unloading equipment; freight cars are not adapted to mechanized unloading, as they are produced without removable tops and sliding sides, etc. The freight must be loaded manually, with the help of the production workers. Obviously, loading systems, warehouses and docks in all areas of the national economy must be technologically compatible and standardized.

Packet-container haulage offers great opportunities for the mechanization of warehousing operations, the use of essentially new technological processes and the construction of fully mechanized warehouses. This system, however, is being introduced quite slowly. Occasionally, related enterprises use whatever containers happen to be available when they ship out their goods. So far few standardized containers are being produced, most of them are used only once, and the goods are unwrapped manually. On a nationwide basis the annual cost of packaging and containers exceeds 10 billion rubles and necessitates 73 million cubic meters of timber (in terms of usable material). Fourteen ministries and departments manage more than 1,000 packaging manufacturing enterprises "of their own." There are more than 100 scientific research, design and engineering organizations work on container designing, but there is no overall plan or coordination of activities. The decisions of the interdepartmental council on packaging have the force of recommendations and no directive authority whatsoever. They are not included in state production, scientific and technological development and construction plans. However, the "Basic Directions" specifically call for improving the quality and level of standardization of containers and packaging materials and increasing their reusability.

The delivery of goods in suitable containers can yield great economic benefits. By raising the proportion to 70 percent we could release about one million men. We must create a state containers fund, centralize servicing and repair of them and develop a mechanism for the compensation of outlays for such purposes. At the present time ministries and departments are still not very interested in lowering the cost of loading and unloading operations, for they are preplanned and normed on the basis of the levels reached. A mandatory list should be drafted on a national scale, stipulating the type of freight to be hauled in containers, packets, cases, barrels and so on. The time has come for the formulation of a special state standard which will make it mandatory to use progressive facilities for hauling goods. We must energetically support the claims of customers who have filed complaints with the State Arbitration Authority of the USSR Council of Ministers, must increase the control functions of the railroads and, eventually, should grant them the right to refuse to accept items shipped "in bulk" for haulage.

IV

Further improvements in the planning of this process are of great importance for the release of manpower, including workers engaged in manual labor. In accordance with the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree on improving the economic mechanism, industrial ministries, associations and enterprises must include in their 5-year plans for economic and social development tasks related to reducing the use of manual labor (with annual breakdowns). The new indicator would facilitate the closer coordination of the labor plan with the target programs for upgrading technical production standards and the resources allocated for this purpose and would increase their responsibility for the timely implementation of this most important project.

The annual planning of assignments on the actual release of manual labor will require annual operative supervision over their implementation. Presently, the statistical organs provide such control only once every 3 years.

Some rather controversial indicators must be clarified. This applies particularly to the system used in classifying work as mechanized or manual. Along with workers handling machinery, workers using advanced tools are classified as performing mechanized work, although the use of such tools does not at all exclude the use of a considerable amount of manual labor. Such a classification presents a distorted picture of the situation in the study of the level of mechanization.

As we know, technical progress and the growth of labor productivity based on it are impossible without the so-called auxiliary subunits. Today, hardly anyone would dare to say whose work is more important: that of the worker assembling the finished product, that of the one who makes the parts, or that of the individual who makes their work easier, supplies the production process with advanced mechanisms or repairs complex and expensive equipment.

The imperfect nature of today's methods of assessing the level of labor mechanization occasionally creates paradoxical situations. Let us assume that as a result of mechanization and automation, 10 percent of the machine-tool workers have been released, while the number of tuners of automated assembly lines and control-measuring equipment, repair workers and other auxiliary personnel has increased by three percent. Logically, this would seem satisfactory, for the absolute number of workers has been reduced. However, according to the current classification method, fitter-tuners and repair workers are deemed to be performing manual work. Consequently, while the level of mechanization has actually been raised, its official standard has been lowered. Under such a system the indicator of the share of manual labor outlays in an automated plant may come close to...100 percent.

As we know, the work of an enterprise is judged by the level of indicators reached. The result of the imperfect method is that managers are criticized at conferences of ministries or oblast organizations for an alleged "drop" in the level of mechanization and less desirable ratio between workers engaged in basic and auxiliary production. Such a situation hardly contributes to promoting the initiative and socialist spirit of enterprise among economic managers. Obviously, it has become necessary to eliminate this contradiction and to assess the condition of labor mechanization from both the quantitative and qualitative viewpoints, taking overall technical and economic results into consideration. In this connection, it is important to standardize the method and to apply uniform criteria.

The replacement of obsolete equipment, the search for more advanced technologies and reduced labor intensiveness contribute to the drastic reduction of manual labor. Unfortunately, we still quite frequently come across situations in which the research done by scientists and designers is not focused on basic production needs. Many ministries base the technical policy of their sectors on improving the unit capacity of produced machinery. Essentially this is correct, for it makes upgrading the productivity of the equipment possible. At the same time, however, we must also develop the mechanisms and systems which really replace manual labor.

To a certain extent the direction followed in sectorial technological policy is related to the existing method for determining average power intensiveness per worker, by dividing the power of all engines which operate machines and mechanisms by the total number of workers. As a result of this the average power-labor ratio

is increased, but the number of auxiliary workers sometimes even rises. Obviously, the power-labor ratio of production workers engaged in manual labor should be computed separately from the other working groups. This will show what is being done to reduce their number.

It may seem logical that equipping reconstructed enterprises with the most modern manual labor mechanization facilities should be planned in advance. However, the design organizations are frequently uninterested in doing this. In many scientific research institutes, only a small number of development workers is engaged in the creation of equipment for the replacement of manual labor. This, it appears, is considered unprofitable work. The point is that the system used in assessing and rewarding work, based on effectiveness per ruble of outlay, motivates the designers to work on more costly projects. This system must be amended so that whatever is good for society at large will be good for the individual collective and worker.

When automating the production process, developers frequently leave the starting (loading) and finishing (unloading) operations unmechanized. As a result, heavy and monotonous physical labor is still necessary even at new or reconstructed enterprises. Obviously, it would be expedient to issue regulations on the admissible volume of manual work (in terms of individual machines or one production line or another). On this basis penalties could be imposed or administrative measures taken with regard to those who are still unwilling to march in step with the times because of habit or inertia.

The system of material incentives for reducing manual labor outlays and releasing personnel at enterprises must be improved. In our view, this could be achieved by eliminating the ratio which prevails in plants and associations of the machine-building industry between the volume of personnel and the salaries of managers. In the interests of the cause, the size of bonuses paid for the application of new equipment and mechanization facilities should be increased. The overfulfillment of assignments on improving the production process, mechanization of manual labor above all, could be one of the basic criteria for such an incentive. At present, most of the funds allocated for the further enhancement of the technical and economic standards of associations, plants and factories are channeled into basic production. Only insignificant amounts are allocated for the mechanization of auxiliary operations. No scientific recommendations exist on the most efficient allocation of funds by the enterprises on the basis of the planned technical standard for the production process and the socioeconomic development of the collectives.

Our further progress and the completion of the transition to primarily intensive development will depend to an increasing extent on the skillful and effective utilization of all available resources, including manpower. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress that "...The seemingly simple and commonplace thrifty attitude toward public goods and skill in making full and expedient use of everything we have is becoming the pivot of economic policy. This must be the focal point of the initiative of labor collectives and mass party work. This must be the aim of our technological and capital investment policy and the planning and accountability system."

The elaboration of a comprehensive target program for the mechanization of manual labor, described in the "Basic Directions" as a priority, and the implementation of

important technical, organizational, economic, social and legal measures at all management levels will be assisted by close coordination between sectorial and territorial planning. This will enable us to concentrate the necessary resources within the unified national economy and to ensure the interaction among ministries, departments and organizations.

The implementation of the most important technical and economic tasks related to reducing manual labor outlays will have a beneficial impact on the balancing of the Soviet economy and on upgrading social production effectiveness. It will enable us to implement V. I. Lenin's dream of turning socialist enterprises into "laboratories worthy of man" and to create the necessary conditions for the satisfaction of the need of the Soviet people for creative work and for the comprehensive development of the individual.

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THRIFT IS AKIN TO CREATION

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[Article by L. Gorshkov, first secretary of the Kemerovskaya Oblast CPSU Committee]

[Text] In earmarking the vast program for the economic and social development of the country in the 11th Five-Year Plan and throughout the 1980's, the Communist Party also defines the direction for the steady upsurge of the national economy through the accelerated intensification of public production, rational utilization of the existing production potential and comprehensive conservation of material, manpower and financial resources. Our further progress, the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress emphasizes, will depend increasingly on the skillful and effective utilization of all available resources, such as labor, productive capital, fuel, raw materials, and the output of fields and farms.

The principle of socialist economic management must be implemented even more persistently and consistently, the recently passed CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Intensifying the Work on the Thrifty and Rational Utilization of Raw, Fuel, Energy and Other Material Resources" stipulates, implementing Lenin's instruction of keeping track of money accurately and conscientiously, managing economically and observing the strictest possible labor discipline. The thrifty utilization of raw and other materials, reduction of waste and elimination of losses mean saving the labor of millions of people and capital investments, increasing production output and protecting the environment. The systematic implementation of the regimen of savings in all economic units has been raised to the level of a national task.

I

To the working people of twice order bearer Kemerovskaya Oblast, participation in the implementation of such a complex task is of exceptionally important significance. In March 1978 the party's Central Committee passed the decree "On the Organizational and Political Work of the Kemerovskaya Oblast CPSU Committee on the Conservation of Fuel and Energy Resources at Oblast Enterprises and Construction Projects." In the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev expressed high appreciation for the activities of the Kuzbass labor collectives in this respect. This inspired all of us to greater accomplishments, so that production results may increase faster than outlays and so that we may achieve more with fewer resources and make the economy economical. This governs the organizational and mass-political work of the oblast, city and rayon party committees and primary party organizations.

We also realize that the Kuzbass production collectives have merely covered the first stage in the course of which the visible economic opportunities were brought up. We are now engaged in a deeper effort whose objective is to ensure the more effective utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, to make the competition for conservation of fuel-energy and other material resources comprehensive, to involve in it every working person and to equip him with the necessary knowledge for finding and utilizing as yet unused reserves.

What makes this even more important is that in recent years the geography and conditions for the extraction of minerals have been changing drastically. The importance of Siberia, the North and the Far East as the basic sources of energy and most raw material resources has been increasing steadily, and the cost of their extraction and transportation to the state has grown noticeably. That is why the comprehensive struggle for each kg of grain, coal, metal and other products, and the economical and efficient utilization of all material resources are becoming ever more significant in terms of the national economy. The party calls upon every working person and citizen of our country to be a thrifty, careful and wise manager. All Soviet people have the duty not to allow losses of the people's goods, wherever this may be.

Losses come in all varieties. At the ceremony in Tbilisi on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Georgian SSR and the Communist Party of Georgia, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said: "We are losing an excessive amount of goods for the reason that we have not as yet learned how to take good care of the nation's wealth. We are losing it due to individual negligence, due to designers' miscalculations and due to the fact that this or that enterprise manager lacks a public-minded approach...."

Every one of us must become deeply aware of the simple truth that everything created through the toil of the Soviet people is our national wealth and that its feckless waste means harming society.

On this basis the Kemerovskaya party organization has paid particular attention to developing a feeling of thrift over a period of many years.

The Kuzbass holds one of the leading positions in the country's fuel and energy balance. It is a highly developed industrial area. Although covering an extremely "small" territory of less than 100 square km, on the Siberian scale, our oblast produces annually industrial goods worth almost 9 billion rubles. Thirty percent of all fixed industrial production capital of Western Siberia is concentrated here.

Kemerovskaya Oblast, which supplies a variety of goods to the country, remains one of the biggest consumers as well. Our economy needs annually about 74 million tons of conventional fuel, dozens of billions of kilowatt hours of electric power, more than 2 million tons of petroleum products, 1.7 million tons of metal, more than 5 million cubic meters of timber and a great deal of other raw and other materials.

Therefore, we have great possibilities both for steadily increasing our output and comprehensively saving on material resources. It is no accident that the movement for the conservation of fuel and energy resources, which appeared several years ago, was born precisely in the Kuzbass. It was started by the famous coal miners and Heroes of Socialist Labor Gennadiy Smirnov, Vladimir Devyatko, Ivan Rogovskiy

and Nikolay Putra, the noted metallurgical workers Aleksey Nechay and Vasilii Solomin, Western Siberia construction workers Vasilii Seryapov and Nikolay Volkov and thousands of other working people, front rankers in the chemical industry, machine building, light industry and agriculture, who are continuing to struggle for the movement successfully.

Long experience has proved that the increased regimen of thrift is a problem directly related to upgrading the effectiveness and quality of all work. Its successful solution requires a comprehensive approach, a combination of organizational with political activity, the utilization of the achievements of science and technology and the implementation of a vast and comprehensive program of organizational and technical measures. The CPSU obkom is always seeing to it that, taking local conditions into consideration, the labor collectives formulate and efficiently follow systems for increasing savings and for each party group and shop and primary party organization and party committee to carry out such work on a planned and purposeful basis.

In the three years which have passed following the promulgation of the CC CPSU decree on our oblast, the oblast party committee bureau considered problems related to the economical utilization of fuel and energy resources and to upgrading the reliability of energy supplies to the national economy on 11 separate occasions. The city and rayon committee bureaus discussed about 200 similar problems within the same period.

The coordination councils and commissions set up under the oblast, city and rayon party committees and at enterprises and organizations are supervising the implementation of related measures. The oblast holds annual reviews on the preparedness of enterprises and organizations in industry, construction, transportation, agriculture and the nonproduction sphere for work in winter conditions.

The local soviets of people's deputies, trade unions, people's control organs, the Komsomol, the scientific and technical societies, the Znaniye Society and the rationalizers and inventors are actively involved in the conservation of fuel and energy resources. Such work is being carried out by the house-building and street committees and more than 1,600 deputy groups and posts at places of residence, enterprises and construction projects. About 40,000 people, who investigated more than 2,000 enterprises and organizations, were involved in two mass-scale investigations carried out by people's control organs and Komsomol Beacon staffs and posts last year alone. About 150 people were charged with negligence and overexpenditures of electric power, fuel and heat.

The coordination council on the conservation of fuel and energy resources and upgrading the effectiveness of their utilization in the oblast's economy, organized by the CPSU oblast committee, meets on a quarterly basis. It hears reports submitted by heads of enterprises and party, trade union, Komsomol and other social organizations; it considers the results of the work done and proclaims the winners in the competition among cities and rayons for the creation of a Kuzbass-wide economy and thrift fund.

The organization of socialist competition for increasing the contribution of labor collectives to the Kuzbass-wide economy fund, dissemination of the experience of the winners, and rewarding those who reduce material outlays in the course of the

production process are factors which are having a tremendous influence on the molding of the life stance of every person. They help to develop intolerance in the struggle against thriftlessness and waste. In using the entire variety of ways and means for ideological and educational work, the party organizations teach the working people to think broadly, like statesmen. They develop their economic training and concern for the common cause.

Many creative initiatives of innovators and leading collectives have appeared or become developed further in the course of the competition. This has enabled us to improve the effectiveness and quality of the work and to use fuel and energy more economically. The party, trade union and Komsomol organizations are supporting and developing searches, creative initiative and a conscientious attitude among the people toward their public duty.

The results of all such efforts speak for themselves: in the 10th Five-Year Plan the oblast's economy saved 955 million kilowatt hours of electric power, 2.2 million gigacalories of thermal energy, 746,000 tons of conventional fuel, 41,000 tons of metal, almost 34,000 tons of cement, 27,000 cubic meters of timber and many other material resources.

II

Thrift in major and minor matters must become the norm of the Soviet people's daily life. However, this must be developed and supported tirelessly and consistently. The oblast's party members and leading production workers have appealed to the working people of industrial enterprises, construction projects, organizations, sovkhozes and kolkhozes to open individual and, in brigades, sectors and shops, collective savings accounts for raw materials, metals, fuel, electric power and other material resources, discover deep hidden reserves, learn how to find them on a steady and comprehensive basis, lower production outlays and act like economists at their jobs.

Our workers have undergone good economic training. Today, many of them cannot only simply describe what they are producing but also its cost and its outlays. For example, the miners at the brigade headed by Hero of Socialist Labor V. G. Tevyatko determined as a result of an economic study that if the mining equipment is used at full capacity and the daily productivity of the drift is increased, electric power outlays per ton of extracted coal will be reduced by 0.5 kilowatt hours. This may seem insignificant. However, this brigade, which produces more than 1 million tons of fuel per year, would be able to save 500,000 kilowatt hours of electric power. How many collectives do we have which produce 500,000 ton of coal or more per year? Almost 30....Imagine, therefore, the economic benefits to the oblast from such an initiative.

It is no accident that specific power outlays per ton of extracted coal are steadily declining at the Raspaskaya Mine, where V. G. Devyatko's brigade is at work. Currently its use of electric power is lower by more than one-half compared with the sectorial average. As a result, the mine's collective was able to save 12.2 million kilowatt hours of electric power over the plan in the 10th Five-Year Plan. This made it possible to outstrip planned capacities ahead of schedule and raise the extraction of coking coal to 6 million tons per year. Today Raspaskaya is the biggest mine in the country and the coal extracted from it is among the cheapest in the sector.

How has V. G. Devyatko's brigade been able to achieve such outstanding results? Above all, organizational-technical measures were carried out which enabled it to operate the mining equipment better: machine time was increased and idling was reduced. The miners are working the seam more extensively, within the limits of the technical characteristics of the machines and combines, thoroughly removing the coal from the mechanisms to prevent breakdowns and so on. Each individual operation saves a few tons of coal. Summed up, this amounts to tens of thousands of tons of additional output.

The experience of the socialist competition under the slogan of "Every Working Person Must Be an Economist at His Workplace!" proves that it opened a wide field for the development of the creative initiative of the people in the struggle for the ahead-of-schedule implementation of state plans and socialist obligations and for economy and thrift.

Many party organizations in the mines direct the efforts of the working people to a comprehensive lowering of fuel losses. By using the achievements of science, perfecting the equipment and the technology and improving educational work, in the 10th Five-Year Plan the collective of the Sibir' Central Concentration Factory saved 12.8 million kilowatt hours of electric power and 15,200 tons of conventional fuel; 330,000 tons of coal concentrate were obtained by lowering the amount of losses from coal concentration waste.

The economic analysis made by every working person at his workplace is, as a rule, specific and practical. For example, the Kuzbass automotive vehicle drivers estimated that saving 1 percent of fuels and lubricants per year will enable them to do additional work totaling 130,000 ton/km. Today every driver knows that a single drop of fuel lost from the fuel tank of a tractor or automotive vehicle will total the impressive quantity of 3.5 kilograms per day or 1.2 tons per year. Yet we have more than 200,000 such vehicles. Every driver and repair worker also knows that a faulty ignition system will result in 3-4 percent or, in heavy city traffic, even 10 percent fuel overexpenditures, for which reason efforts are made to maintain the ignition system in good condition. Naturally, engines could be treated differently: they could be left to run for hours or, conversely, use even brief stops as a means for saving a little bit of fuel.

Having declared war on losses and having discovered more reserves, the collective of the Belovo passenger automotive enterprise was able to save more than 1 million liters of gasoline and 201,500 kilowatt hours of electric power in the 10th Five-Year Plan. The enterprise was able to operate for 50 days with the gasoline and diesel fuel, 67 days on the electric power and 90 days on the coal saved in the course of the five-year plan. The party organization of this collective has focused its efforts on the moral side of the general approach to economy and thrift. For this reason, many production innovators here act as true economists in their jobs.

Naturally, the struggle for effectiveness and conservation of material resources has its characteristic features at each sector and enterprise, dictated by labor conditions and the nature of the production process. However, all Kuzbass working people have one thing in common, their search for concealed reserves, expressed through their individual economy records. This enables them to save on material resources, energy and fuel above all, in a more detailed and purposeful fashion. Also taken into consideration are outlays of metal, timber, cement and other materials, according to the nature of the enterprise, and the effectiveness of rationalization suggestions on the conservation of resources.

Currently more than 600,000 people in the oblast are working on the basis of individual economy records. It is precisely they who are making the main contribution to the Kuzbass economy fund, who are the leaders of everything new and progressive, opposing routine and stereotypes, and discovering deeply hidden reserves. Every working person in our oblast is probably now convinced from personal experience that competition based on individual savings records is not only an effective economic measure but an important means for the communist upbringing of the people. Their enthusiasm and creative thrust, multiplied through precise economic computations, are the foundations for the movement for economy and thrift.

III

The working people in different sectors are involved in this movement in the oblast. It includes workers in culture, services, education and medicine and the personnel of virtually all social organizations. We have also developed "Pioneer counters," which are similar to the Timur movement, initiated by teachers and students. The children see to it that electric lights are turned off on time, that faucets are not leaking, and that objects which could be of industrial use are not left abandoned on streets or in dumps. The idea of economy and thrift is being firmly implanted in the minds of the students and is changing their mentality. With their help hundreds of millions of kilowatt hours of electric power and tens of thousands of tons and cubic meters of various material and raw material resources have been saved. Naturally, however, the most substantial contributions to such savings have continued to be made by the working people of industrial enterprises: miners, chemists, metallurgical and construction workers and workers in light industry and agriculture.

For example, the Zapsib collective made a structural study of the entire production cycle. The workers themselves convincingly proved that the most important possibility of saving fuel and energy is the further intensification of the production process, the effective utilization of production capacities, increasing the amount of pig iron and steel smelters, and the uninterrupted production of rolled metal goods, for a rolling mill uses an almost equal amount of electric power whether it is processing metal or idling. Consequently, the more metal it processes per working hour the lower will be the specific electric power outlays per ton of raw metal.

The Zapsib specialists installed the multiple-nozzle tuyere which feeds oxygen to the converter, thus reducing smelting time. Improvements in the fire-resistant lining of the machine units made it possible considerably to extend the repair-free operation of the machine units. The use of the so-called extra-furnace refining of the metal has substantially improved the quality of the steel. Essentially, this means that the finished smelting is processed with inert gases while still in the casting ladle. In the course of this operation air bubbles, slag lumps and other harmful admixtures are removed from the metal, thus improving the qualitative characteristics of the steel. Adopting the system of pouring the metal with the help of slide gates, the steel smelters improved the structure of the steel and the quality of the ingot surface, which is quite important in preventing the loss of metal in rolling. The extra-furnace processing of the metal, combined with progressive casting technology, reduced losses by a factor of almost 1.5. Today the Zapsib collective is in one of the leading positions in the sector in terms of the production of usable metal. The specific electric power outlay per ton of melted steel here is 6.4 kilowatt hours below the specified level.

With every passing year the plant is increasing its output of goods with a negative or reduced tolerance. This requires great skill and efficient and painstaking organization of the equipment. In the 10th Five-Year Plan the plant saved more than 100,000 tons of metal as a result of negative tolerance rolling.

The Novokuznetsk, Kiselevsk, Tashtagol, Gur'yev and Yurga city and Tisul'skiy Rayon party organizations have acquired positive practical experience in the rational utilization and conservation of fuel and energy resources.

The party committee and management of the Tomusinskaya GRES are focusing the attention of the collective on ensuring the reliable and economic operation of the equipment and upgrading the professional training of the personnel. The power workers at the station were among the first in the sector to apply a system of guaranteed equipment repairs and services. This made it possible to produce an additional amount of more than 60 million kilowatt hours of electric power. Major successes were achieved by the working people of the Kemerovo and Belovo GRES. All in all, as a result of reducing specific outlay norms at the enterprises of the Kuzbass power system more than 180,000 tons of conventional fuel were saved and about 13 million tons of scarce Kuznetsk coal were released by converting the boilers to the use of petroleum gas and low-grade fuel.

As we implement the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress we have begun to direct the party organization, soviet and economic organs and scientific and design establishments more persistently to finding deeper reserves, ensuring the comprehensive and more extensive processing of minerals and other sources of raw and other materials and the more extensive use of secondary resources.

Generally speaking, the maximum utilization of secondary resources is, metaphorically speaking, an almost virgin land which must be developed more energetically and boldly. So far, we have taken merely the first steps in this direction.

For example, a number of measures are being implemented at the Kemerovo chemical fibers plant for the use of waste materials and their processing into consumer goods, ranging from staple fibers to recycled polyamide. Today no waste accumulates at the plant. Its processing made it possible to reduce the raw material expenditure coefficient--kaprolaktam--by 15 percent and save on electric power and fuel. The Polymer Experimental-Chemical Plant in Kemerovo mastered the production of polyethylene pipes and fabrics from polyethylene waste. These items are extensively applied in the construction of greenhouses and kolkhoz and sovkhoz irrigation systems. A total of 137 tons of polyethylene pipes were manufactured in 1980, thus saving the use of 1,582 tons of steel pipes. The 1981 plan calls for the production of 300 tons of polyethylene pipe.

The oblast's industrial enterprises are doing a great deal to ensure the maximum utilization of reusable power resources. At Zapsib more than one-half of the required heat comes from recovery boilers. Electric power plants have learned how to use waste gases for heating purposes extensively. At the Azot Association, the reaction heat released by ammonium and diluted nitric acid machines is used to drive compressors. In a single year, as a result of the use of secondary power resources, the oblast obtained 3.9 million gigacalories of heat, which represents savings of 680,000 tons of conventional fuel.

IV

The plans for organizational and technical measures for the conservation of fuel and energy resources stipulate the use of yet another very substantial reserve which cannot be ignored: the further development and strengthening of creative business relations between science and production and the close cooperation between enterprise specialists and scientists in Kuzbass and other cities.

Dozens of Kuzbass enterprises are extensively applying new waste-free technologies which make it possible to intensify output and virtually eliminate all losses. Measures are being successfully implemented for the development of qualitatively new products which ensure considerable fuel and energy savings. Thus, the development and use of high-moment electrical machines at the Elektromashina Plant in Prokop'yevsk made it possible to improve considerably the efficiency while reducing the weight of the motor and thus to save more than 9 million kilowatt hours of electric power.

The scientific research institute of the Karbolit Association developed and mastered the use of a waste-free technological process for the production of phenol-formaldehyde tar in which the tar waters which form in the production of phenolic plastic are fully utilized. This process saves annually more than 700 gigacalories of heat and 16,000 cubic meters of water. Furthermore, the tar itself contains an insignificant amount of free monomers, as a result of which it can be extensively used in the manufacture of high-grade wood fiber tiles and reduce timber and electric power outlays for their manufacture. Electric power savings per ton of tar equal 2,500 kilowatt hours.

The principles of the economical approach run through the activities of collectives, industrial enterprises and scientific institutions. The search for new ways to save on fuel inspired the thought of using coal concentration waste in the production of electric power. Specialists reached the conclusion that it was possible to use as much as 20 percent of the fuel in a water-coal suspension poured into settling tanks. This will make it possible to burn the coal slag which has accumulated at concentration factories in Kuzbass and allow the additional utilization of up to 200,000 tons of coal....

Speaking of thrift, we must mention our attitude toward the greatest resource of the country--the land--and environmental protection. As we know, our party and the Soviet government are showing tremendous concern for the protection of the environment and the rational utilization of its resources. The use of natural resources in our country is strictly regulated by the USSR Constitution and by laws and a number of CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decrees.

The conditions of industrial Kuzbass most clearly show that environmental protection is not only a most important social task but a major factor in upgrading public production effectiveness.

Air and water pollution reduces the usefulness of all production factors such as labor productivity, capital returns and the productivity of natural resources. It calls for additional expenditures for maintaining the quality of output on the necessary level. Finally, it reduces the social results of funds invested in the development of the nonproduction sphere--health care, the communal economy and others.

As a result of the high concentration of mining operations, strip mining in particular, the preservation of the land, timber and water resources and the recultivation of disturbed land areas are a subject of particular concern. We realize that a modern, high-quality and ecologically knowledgeable extraction of fuel and other minerals means taking only that which is needed and in the needed quantities.

In 1973 the USSR Council of Ministers passed a special decree, "On Measures for the Prevention of Pollution Along the Tom River Basin With Untreated Effluent Waters and of the Air Basin Over the Cities of Kemerovo and Novokuznetsk With Industrial Wastes." The number and cost of environmental protection measures is rising with every passing year. Whereas about 100 million rubles was spent for such purposes in the 8th Five-Year Plan the amount rose to 150 million in the 9th and 300 million in the 10th. Expenditures of about half a billion rubles are contemplated for the 11th Five-Year Plan.

Systematic work is being done to improve technological processes and equipment and to reduce raw material outlays per unit of output. The network of treatment systems is widening and becoming more effective. Currently, about 30 percent of polluted sewer waters and about 80 percent of released gases are treated. Considerable quantities of substances contained in such waters and gases are utilized.

More work is being done on the recultivation of the land. To this effect the coal mining associations have set up special subunits staffed with skilled specialists and provided with the necessary equipment. In the past five-year plan alone 7,500 hectares of farmland were cultivated and restored to agriculture and 74,000 hectares were planted in trees of the most valuable varieties such cedars, larches and pines.

More scientific work is being done in the oblast on environmental protection subjects. Control facilities are being expanded, the broad public is being involved in environmental protection and the rational utilization of nature and the ecological awareness of the population is being intensified. Like previous plans, the 11th Five-Year Plan contains a vast program for environmental protection and more efficient utilization of natural resources.

All of this, put together, enables us to maintain the necessary purity of the water and air basins and thriftily to use and multiply Kuzbass' natural resources despite the steady growth of public production.

Naturally, we have unresolved problems as well, whose solution depends on local organizations and sectorial ministries and departments.

Let us take coal mining as an example. Today Kuzbass accounts for a considerable percentage of the coking coal produced in the country. The basin's coal is highly caloric and is practically irreplaceable in metallurgy. Although mining losses are declining, hundreds of thousands of tons of high-grade coal remain inside the earth mainly because of a disparity between the parameters of mining-hoisting equipment and the basin's complex geological conditions. The available mining equipment does not ensure the full extraction of the coal from the thick underground seams.

As a result of the extremely slow construction of concentration factories in strip mining areas, particularly those with sharp gradients, seams up to 3 meters thick are virtually ignored.

With a view to reducing underground coal losses, in our view, the scientific research and design and engineering institutes should speed up their efforts for the development of extraction equipment, complexes, machine units and technological systems for the mining of the geologically complex Kuznetsk coal basin.

As in the past, we are faced with the grave problem of the transportation of the coal by rail. Every day hundreds of thousands of tons of coal are shipped out of Kuzbass by rail. In the course of the long haulage and storage some of it is blown off or loses its qualities. We have seen to it that at some loading areas compacting rollers are used and a layer of water emulsion is supplied. This guarantees the full protection of the coal transported by rail. However, most loading centers have not been equipped with such rollers because of the insufficient attention which the USSR Ministry of Coal Industry and the Ministry of Railways pay to this problem, and the manufacture of water emulsion is being unjustifiably delayed.

The amount of coal shipped out of the Kuznetsk basin will increase as the basin is developed further. It is becoming urgently necessary to resolve the problem of the transportation of the coal not only by rail but by other means as well, pipelines in particular.

We must equally mention the great possibility of saving electric power at the mines, which has been ignored for quite some time. It is a question of reducing losses along low-voltage power grids and reduction transformers, compensated by reaction power. This method for reducing losses is extensively used by power workers in high-tension grids. In low-tension grids, however, where losses range from 5 to 12 percent, it is practically unused due to the lack of compensators.

However, only a few years ago, together with the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Electrodynamics, the scientific research institute of the Kuzbasselektromotor Association developed a low-voltage contactless synchronous electric motor for work in underground mines. Tests proved the high quality of this engine which could not only power mining machinery and mechanisms but reduce electric power losses in grids and transformers as well. The paradox is that no one found any use for such engines. This applied to the coal industry as well, where the actual specific outlays of electric power had remained on the level of the plan indicators for a number of years, for which reason, as one of the ministry's answers stated, "the ministry does not need any new means for saving on electric power...." Meanwhile, electric power losses in low-tension grids are tremendous. Their reduction by no more than one-half would enable us to save 12 to 13 million kilowatt hours per year. Developing the production of contactless synchronous engines and their use will enable us not only to lower electric power losses but also substantially to improve the operational conditions of electrical equipment.

We must resolve a number of major problems related to the conservation of fuel-energy and material resources in ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy in the immediate future, such as the use of natural gas, combined with oxygen, at the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine, the use of heat processing of shaped parts and vacuum and inert gases and many others. All of this will drastically improve quality and save metal.

Major possibilities for the conservation of resources exist in capital construction, which is one of the most material-intensive sectors. Outlays for materials used for the building of plants and installations account for more than one-half of the

overall cost of construction and installation projects and for about 30 percent of capital investments in the oblast's economy. Reducing outlays for construction materials on the oblast scale by only 1 percent will save about 5 million rubles per year or 2,000 tons of rolled metal, 15,000 tons of cement and 10,000 cubic meters of lumber.

The use of progressive materials and bold technical solutions in construction accounted for considerable savings in material and technical resources in the 10th Five-Year Plan. More than 10,000 tons of rolled ferrous metal, 34,000 tons of cement and 27,000 tons of lumber were saved. Specific outlays of basic materials per 1 million rubles' worth of construction and installation work were reduced as follows: metal, 3.9 percent; cement, 4.2 percent; lumber, 40 percent; and glass, 10 percent.

However, we believe that this is merely the beginning of our efforts, particularly in the area of metal and cement conservation. Currently the party organizations are directing the attention of specialists and collectives toward increasing the production and utilizing prestressed and preassembled reinforced concrete structures, the manufacture of metal structures from high-strength steels and the use of lightweight concrete and economical shapes of metal, new and progressive building structures and efficient systems and assembled reinforced concrete elements of coordinated and standardized series.

Lightweight bearing structures combined with structures using effective insulation and shaped materials are used in industrial construction, as a result of which the weight of the buildings has been reduced by a factor of 5-6 and of construction labor intensiveness and time by 15-20 percent. However, no more than 5 percent of the need for such structures is being met, because of insufficient procurements on the part of the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work.

Considerable amounts of cement could be saved by the oblast's industrial construction enterprises by using the coal ash of the thermoelectric power plant. Every year more than 1 million tons of ash are produced by the Kuzbass power plants. However, the reason insignificant amounts of the ash are being used is that the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification has not resolved the problem of dry ash separation at operating power plants. This, however, would enable us to save 100,000 tons of cement per year.

No further lowering of material intensiveness and weight of building structures or reduction of heat losses in buildings can be achieved without the organization of the production of effective heat insulation materials in adequate amounts.

The Ministry of Chemical Industry is not ensuring the production of tars and other components for the manufacture of lightweight, effective insulators in the required amounts. Meanwhile, our Karbolit Scientific-Production Association developed and mastered the production of a wide range of synthetic tars. However, their use has been limited as a result of the departmental position taken by the ministry.

Every year the light industry enterprises procure and process more than 3 million cubic meters of timber. The 10th Five-Year Plan saw a great deal of work done by them to make possible the use of low-grade wood and production waste. Dressed wood-fiber tiles and industrial chips from waste increased. However, considerable

timber resources remain unused, 45 percent of them because of the insufficient attention which the USSR Ministry of Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry pays to the reconstruction and technical improvement of timber procurement and processing enterprises.

We have combined in a comprehensive plan for party-political and organizational-technical measures on the rational utilization and conservation of fuel and energy resources in the oblast's economy these and many other problems and means for their solution. In the 11th Five-Year Plan extraction losses will be reduced by 6.8 million tons. Effective generating and energy-utilizing equipment and technological processes and machines ensuring increased output with minimal power outlays will be applied. In ferrous metallurgy more extensive use will be made of combined blasting; powerful machine units and systems will be installed in the chemical industry. The production of cement by the dry method will be increased, and so on. Major measures have been planned for the development and improvement of power industry enterprises, centralized heat supplies of cities and workers' settlements, and planning, norming and organizing the expanded use of scientific outlay norms and progressive systems for keeping track of the production and consumption of fuel and energy resources and so on.

Measures aimed at upgrading the effectiveness of the utilization and the conservation of power-intensive materials, metal above all, and their substitution by other, less energy-intensive materials, and the maximum utilization of secondary raw materials are an essential structural part of the plan.

All of this should ensure savings of no less than 1 billion kilowatt hours of electric power, 2.6 million gigacalories of thermal energy, 560,000 tons of conventional fuel and 42,000 tons of gasoline and diesel fuel over the five-year plan.

The Kemerovskaya Oblast party organization is making great efforts to implement the measures earmarked by the CC CPSU and the Soviet government for improving the thrifty and efficient utilization of the resources.

The party members and all working people of Kemerovskaya Oblast will make their worthy contribution to the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 11th Five-Year Plan and of the program for the upsurge of the people's prosperity. The adamant struggle against waste and the discovery of means for the efficient utilization of public resources constitute the most important task of our party organization and the high civic duty of all working people in the Kuznetsk area and of every Soviet person.

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EXPERIMENT IN IMPROVING THE ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT MECHANISM

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[Text] The present article sums up certain results of the economic experiment which has been conducted in 23 enterprises of the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry since the beginning of 1977. Both in the organization of the experiment and in the course of its conduct a variety of the institutions involved in it repeatedly assessed the results. Reactions to the experiment varied on the level of enterprises and departments. Bearing in mind the work done, its importance to the sector and the possibility of summing up the acquired experience, the editors are presenting this article as a basis for discussion, in order to draw the attention of the readers to the entire set of problems it raises.

In referring to the measures for improving the economic mechanism, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized at the 26th party congress that "at the same time we must go further and solve the accumulated problems. It's worth noting that we cannot permit stagnation in improving management organizational structures. It is out of the question to adjust a living, growing economic management organism to fixed, customary methods. On the contrary, the methods must be brought in line with changing economic problems. This is the only way to put the question. The problems raised by life demand the development of theory and an economic science and the bringing of the latter closer to the needs of economic practice. We must mobilize the creative potential of our entire society."

The main task in the radical improvement of the economic mechanism is to strengthen centralized planning of the development of public production, organically combined with the strict, objective and inviolable material interests of enterprise workers and superior economic units in drafting creative, technically progressive and stressed plans and actively struggle for their implementation.

The realization of the great potential of socialism calls for the elaboration and application of an integral planning production system and objective socialist competition and economic incentive. Briefly stated, this can be reduced to the use of the rational, all-embracing production effectiveness indicator, the installation

of new equipment and the utilization of the specific economic laws of objective economic competition among producers. The purpose of this system is to have a fruitful reverse influence on all centralized planning units, to ensure their ascension to a higher quality level and, in the final account, to lead to the comprehensive consolidation of the intensive nature of development of the national economy.

The strictly socialist general indicator of production effectiveness and utilization of progressive equipment, which we consider new--the growth of specific labor productivity--expresses the increased physical volume of the end (conditionally net) production (C) per worker (W) and per unit of productive capital and material working assets (A) and improved quality of output (Q), i.e., $(C/W \times C/A)Q$, in which the symbols mark the growth indicators. This single expression covers savings of all production outlays, such as labor, raw and other materials, fixed capital and material working assets, combined with improved production quality.

Results of the Experiment

The overall production effectiveness at the 23 enterprises of the Soyuzabraziv VPO and Soyuzalmazinstrument of the Ministry of Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry which, starting in 1977, were converted to the new system of production planning, objective socialist competition and economic incentives, rose considerably. While the marketable output of the Soyuzabraziv VPO rose by 27.83 percent in 4 years (1977-1980), finished output rose by 47.46 percent and, taking the improved quality of the goods into consideration, by 54.68 percent. This doubled increase in the end volume of consumer values compared with the gross output was the result of intensive savings in material outlays, equaling the creation of additional output resources in the national economy and the increased actual usefulness of the goods under specific social labor outlays. The data indicate that the development of production indicators, which reflect not merely and simply an increased volume of finished goods but of the actual amount of consumer values with given social labor outlays, is becoming very important in today's period of rapid technical progress.

The average annual growth rates of finished products, taking quality improvements into consideration, accelerated quite rapidly, from 8.67 percent in 1975-1976 to 11.52 percent in 1977-1980, including 11.83 percent in 1980. Within that period the average annual growth rates of overall labor productivity, including quality improvements, rose from 7.40 to 9.18 percent, including 9.97 percent in 1980. The growth of the combined labor productivity reflected the intensive increase in average annual rates of economy of material outlays: respectively, from 2.03 to 3.79 percent, including 4.09 percent in the first year of work according to the new system (1977) and 4.42 percent in 1980.

This substantial progress was achieved without any increase in capital investments, but precisely by mobilizing internal reserves. Within the same periods the average annual rates of expansion of productive capital (taking planned familiarization norms into consideration) were almost identical--5.12 and 5.04 percent. The average annual growth rates of final capital returns nearly doubled, rising from 2.95 to 4.91 percent.

Within the same periods, within the overall annual growth rates labor productivity, computed on a cumulative basis, rose from 10.57 to 14.54 percent, including 15.90 percent in 1980. In terms of the specific share of the size of the industrial-production personnel, i.e., on the basis of the criterion of net labor outlays and

with the use of correction coefficients, the same growth coefficients rose, respectively, from 11.37 to 16.32 percent (a 1.44 factor), including 16.58 percent in 1980. In absolute terms, this represents a substantial increase in the overall average annual economy of all social labor outlays, substantial for such a short time interval, from 16.7 million rubles to 30.4 million, including 36.8 million in 1980. Annual labor savings rose from 4.78 million rubles to 5.26 million (a 1.1 factor), including 5.65 million in 1980; savings in material outlays rose from 2 to 4.9 million rubles (a 2.45 factor), including 6.52 million in 1980; in industrial-production assets, from 9.06 to 17.21 million rubles (a 1.9 factor), including 20 million in 1980; finally, the average annual absolute profits in terms of consumer value as a result of quality improvements, with the same social labor outlays, rose from 0.46 to 2.02 million rubles (a 4.39 factor), including 3.16 million in 1980. This entire set of information confirms the rich value of the indicator of the growth of specific labor productivity and its ability to reflect comprehensively overall social labor savings.

There was also a sharp increase in the already exceptionally high rates of growth of specific labor productivity in six enterprises within a new technically revolutionary subsector--the Soyuzalmazinstrument VPO--i.e., from 36.03 percent in 1975-1976 to 43.9 percent in 1977-1978 (including combined labor productivity, which in turn includes improved quality, from 18.7 to 23.8 percent). Subsequently, as a result of drastic planned curtailments of material supplies, i.e., of conditions independent of the work of the enterprises, the growth rates of specific labor productivity dropped to 29.91 percent in 1979 and 13.7 percent in 1980. Characteristically, after the technological reorganization caused by the substitution of scarce materials, a new shift was noted in the accelerated growth of specific labor productivity, which rose to 16.32 percent in the first quarter of 1981.

We must point out the unreliability of the current profits indicator in assessing production effectiveness. In this respect quite frequent and incongruous disparities develop at enterprises. Within the same plant, compared with 1974, combined labor productivity in 1975 dropped by 0.64 percent. Nevertheless, profits in comparable prices rose substantially by 17.27 percent! The following year combined labor productivity rose strongly by another 17.15 percent. Conversely, the annual growth of profits was reduced sharply to 7.32 percent. The growth of combined labor productivity declined from 8.76 percent in 1977 to 4.35 percent in 1978, while, conversely, profits rose, respectively, from 9.55 to 11.48 percent. In 1979 a certain accelerated annual increase in combined labor productivity (to 4.99 percent) was once again paralleled by a slowdown in the growth of profits, by 9.41 percent. At another plant, whereas combined labor productivity declined by 0.75 percent in 1980, profits jumped upwards by 15.64 percent.

Many more such examples could be cited and they speak for themselves. At the same time, however, any substantiated rejection of the use of profits as an indicator of economic effectiveness does not lower their importance when they reflect positive changes in production processes (as a component of increased end production and specific labor productivity). Under the conditions of the experiment the average annual growth rates of profits (in comparable prices and under 1980 conditions) at all 23 enterprises were accelerated substantially, rising from 16.58 percent in the previous two years to 19.47 percent in 1977-1980. The overall amount of profits doubled from 64 million rubles in 1976 to 130 million in 1980.

The results of the experiment for the past 4 years prove that radical changes took place in the behavior of the collectives of enterprises and superior economic units and that they firmly undertook to mobilize their production reserves and actively tried to fulfill their stressed production plans. Even better results could have been achieved if the rest of the system had been changed as well (related enterprises, construction, transportation and material and technical supplies fell behind). And had the system applied by some USSR Gosplan personnel changed as well, for along with the new indicators they insisted on the old ones as well and thus hindered the normal computation of the incentive funds due in accordance with the conditions of the experiment. Because of these obstructions the experiment could not be carried out in all its aspects.

Common Production Effectiveness and New Installation Criterion

Shortcomings of indicators such as gross, marketable and marketed output, which retain their importance only as intermediary links, leave virtually unaffected the growth of specific labor productivity. This growth is a reflection of the actual, the end volume of output of each enterprise and of the combined volumes which represent the gross (marketable) output with the exception of materials procured from the outside (in comparable prices). This is a proper measurement, for in addition to the physical volumes of the final product all enterprises in the national economy do not actually produce a single gram of material resources. All that takes place is a fictitious, a repeated consideration of labor outlays in the processing of the same natural substances in the course of consecutive production stages.

For example, the commodity output of a big abrasive materials plant rose in a single year from 63.1 million to 72.3 million rubles, or by 14.6 percent; the cost of purchased materials rose from 36.8 million to 40.7 million rubles, or 10.6 percent; in other words, the end (conventional--net) output rose from $63.1 - 36.8 = 26.3$ million rubles to $72.3 - 40.7 = 31.6$ million rubles, or by 20.2 percent. This faster growth of the end product reflects essentially the direct savings in material outlays, i.e., the direct benefits of additional goods made available to the national economy. Had the cost of outside deliveries risen from 36.8 million to 45.7 million rubles, or by 24.2 percent, as a result of the overexpenditure of materials or the production of more material-intensive goods, the end output would have reached $72.3 - 45.7 = 26.6$ million rubles, or no more than 1.1 percent. Finally, had such increased outside procurements reflected the effective intensification of production specialization, the plant should have increased additionally its commodity output from 63.1 million to 77.3 million rubles, in order to increase, as in the previous case, its own final output to $77.3 - 45.7 = 31.6$ million rubles, or by that same 20.2 percent. With changes in the share of outside procurements this indicator accurately reflects the enterprise's own contribution to the development of the real, the end, public product.

Along with the net output, the end product covers production amortization. As K. Marx brilliantly proved, the latter is the basis for the growth of labor productivity and a source of real accumulations as effective as the added product (the profit), although it is assuming an increasingly higher share. Currently a considerable percentage of the annual net increase in basic productive capital in the national economy is made possible with the help of an essential share of the production amortization fund. The balance is achieved by trading machinery upwards, to a higher technical standard and the updating of the machinery in the course of

capital repairs. In other words, along with a simple replacement of labor tools, it performs the extensive function of real accumulation. Along with its essential function, amortization is also an element of current production outlays which must be reduced in all possible manners. This, however, is a secondary, a subordinate feature. The great importance of the dialectical and conflicting twin nature of amortization has already been discussed (see *KOMMUNIST*, No 11, 1977, pp 61-62). It is reflected in the structure of the growth of the specific labor productivity.

As to the net output, according to our observations, it reduces the value of the increased volumes of output and, in the installation of most advanced new equipment, slows down changes in labor productivity. This can be seen from the following illustration based on the average organic structure of output in industry (see table).

The new technical variants, requiring different capital investments, are compared with the basic technical method (I). Simplifications for the sake of saving of materials supplied from the outside are taken as the same for all new variants. In the case of variant (II), which is the most advanced among them, labor outlays (wages) begin by declining spasmodically (based on planned data) by a factor of 3.79, while labor productivity, computed on the basis of data on conventional-net output, quadruples, thus reflecting material savings. According to the computation, net production rises, paradoxical though this might seem, by no more than 4.5 percent, while its highest growth, not exceeding a 1.52 factor at that, is achieved in the use of the rather distinguished variant (IV) which, according to estimates, lowers labor outlays by one-half. A seemingly similar increase in labor productivity--by 47 and 40 percent--characterizes, respectively, both variant (III), which reduces spasmodically labor intensiveness by a factor of 3, and variant (V), which reduces it by no more than a 1.54 factor. All these disparities reveal the basic significance of taking comprehensively into consideration in the national economy the end (conventional--net) output. We must fully appreciate the depth of Marx' theoretical summation. He emphasized that "if this part of the fixed capital rises, not only the mass of the annual product rises, but the value of the latter as well, even if the amount of annual labor remains fixed. This growth is a form of capital accumulations (respectively, social output--the authors). It is very important to understand this" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 26, pt II, p 526).

The indicator of the normative net output cannot reflect savings or overexpenditures of material outlays. In many types of production facilities labor output can be raised entirely for the overexpenditure of raw materials. This includes far more labor-intensive output, i.e., in the final account, even in the case of the steep drop in social labor productivity. Furthermore, current and operative changes related to production cooperation are inevitable. Therefore, the results of the work of the enterprise become inevitably distorted as a result of recounting materials. Finally, distortions may also result from concealed changes in the material intensiveness of unstable varied output in which the net output norms are determined not by direct accounting but only on an approximate basis, as a coefficient of the ratio between net and gross (commodity) output, computed by taking the preceding period as a base. The result is that the fictitiousness of the computation becomes even greater than the computations based on "gross output." Typically, after increasing its commodity output by 6.5 percent and, to a far greater extent, materials purchased, by 10.7 percent, between 1977 and 1980 the Ministry of Power Machine Building lowered its own actual final output in absolute figures by 0.2 percent,

Comparable Economic Effectiveness of New Technical Variants
Based on Planned Data (per Unit of Output, Rubles)

<u>Economic Indicators</u>	<u>Technical Variants</u>							
	<u>I</u> (base)	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>	<u>VII</u>	<u>VIII</u>
1. Productive capital (C)	78	377	296.4	195	136.5	97.5	85.8	83.9
2. Amortization (c_1)	6	29	22.8	15	10.5	7.5	6.6	6.45
3. Labor objects (c_2)	65	63	63	63	63	63	63	63
4. Wages (v, P)	13.18	3.48	4.39	6.59	8.57	9.89	11.07	11.53
5. Production cost (c_1+c_2+v)	84.18	95.48	90.19	84.59	82.07	80.39	80.67	80.98
6. Added labor ($m=1,2v$)	15.82	4.18	5.27	7.91	10.28	11.87	13.28	13.84
7. Actual production costs (current labor wholesale price; c_1+c_2+v+m)	100	99.66	95.46	92.50	92.35	92.26	93.95	94.82
8. Comparable labor wholesale price (P_r)	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
9. End (conventional--net) output in comparable prices ($C=P_r-c_2$)	35	37	37	37	37	37	37	37
10. Net output in comparable prices ($P_r-c_1-c_2$)	29	8	14.2	22	26.5	29.5	30.4	30.55
11. Combined labor pro- ductivity based on calculation of output:								
a. conventional-net C/P	2.66	10.63	8.43	5.61	4.32	3.74	3.34	3.21
b. net	2.20	2.30	3.23	3.34	3.09	2.98	2.75	2.65
12. End capital returns based on computed output:								
a. conventional-net C/P	0.45	0.10	0.12	0.19	0.27	0.38	0.43	0.44
b. net	0.37	0.02	0.05	0.11	0.19	0.30	0.35	0.36
13. Growth of specific labor productivity ($C/P \times 0.7 + C/C \times 0.3$)	100	286	230	160	132	124	117	114

	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>	<u>V</u>	<u>VI</u>	<u>VII</u>	<u>VIII</u>
14. Current wholesale price of output (reduced outlays; $c_1+c_2+v+0.15C$)	95.88	152.03	134.65	113.84	102.55	95.02	93.54	93.57
15. Same in percentage of labor wholesale price	95 9	153	141	123	111	103	99.6	98.7
16. Comparable wholesale production price	95.88	95.88	95.88	95.88	95.88	95.88	95.88	95.88
17. Profit according to comparable wholesale price:								
a. labor	15.82	4.52	9.81	15.41	17.93	19.61	19.33	19.02
b. output	11.70	0.40	5.69	11.29	13.81	15.49	15.21	14.90
18. Same, excluding payments for assets (0.06C) based on:								
a. labor price	11.14	-18.10	-7.97	3.71	9.74	13.76	14.18	13.99
b. production price	7.02	-22.22	-12.09	-0.41	5.62	9.64	10.06	9.87
19. Level of profitability (in percent) based on comparable wholesale:								
a. labor price	20.3	1.20	3.31	7.90	13.44	20.1	22.5	22.7
b. production price	15	0.11	1.92	5.79	10.12	15.9	17.7	17.8

while amortization increased by 51.3 percent and net output declined by 12.6 percent. It showed a growth in normative net output of 9.2 percent, i.e., a fictitious result. The July 1979 CC CPSU and Council of Ministers decree points out the need for alternate use of the labor productivity indicator, "which reflects more accurately... changes in labor outlays." This indicator, which in our view can be comprehensively and impeccably applied in all production sectors and at all economic levels, is the growth of the physical volume of the end (conventional--net) output per worker.

The growth of combined labor productivity (C/W), computed on the basis of the final output, is the main component of the overall indicator of the growth of specific labor productivity. It has the attractive feature that it reflects accurately, in a combined, synthesized aspect, savings in labor and material outlays. The labor objects obtained through cooperation represent in the individual enterprises the current materials; on the scale of the society, in turn, such labor objects involve the investment of labor in other sectors which produce, on a parallel basis, corresponding labor objects. Therefore, the growth of the combined labor productivity reflects savings in the entire annual amount of labor, both direct and belated, which is invested in each specific production area.

In this case the enterprises do not benefit in the least by engaging in the production of more labor-intensive items. On this basis, the increased final output, i.e., the growth of numerator C requires, all other conditions being equal, a corresponding increase in labor outlays, i.e., in the denominator W. The C/W fraction cannot grow without labor savings per unit of output, i.e., without a real increase in labor productivity. On the level of the end output, unlike the gross (commodity) output, all items are identically labor intensive on a relative basis, since each of the values of labor intensiveness, with a given capital-labor ratio of an enterprise, is consistent with the strictly proportional quantity of direct labor outlays. All that are left are differences in individual production costs which, however, in themselves, play a positive role by encouraging the enterprise to include in its production plan precisely the type of variety of goods for the production of which it has the most suitable technical facilities.

The second structural element of the growth of specific labor productivity--increased end capital returns (C/A)--reflects the thrifty use of productive capital and material working assets (or, correspondingly, capital investments) in accordance with the planned norms for mastering the use of new capacities, i.e., material savings. The enterprises can intensively increase their combined labor productivity by actively installing new equipment and comprehensively improving the use of operating capacities. At the same time, however, they allow unnecessary capital investments, further delays in unfinished construction, use of equipment below capacity level and accumulation of unnecessary production reserves. All such phenomena are eliminated through the organic combination of combined labor productivity with the dynamics of end capital returns.

The overall formula is the result of the indicators of the growth of combined labor productivity and end capital returns-- $C/W \times C/A$. Unlike the method of summing up their growth, it has the advantage of determining the additional increase in combined labor productivity with the same productive capital outlays. For example, two enterprises may raise their end capital returns by 3 percent; the first will raise the combined labor productivity by 10 percent, and the second by 7 percent. Although in itself the change in the end capital return is the same, it conceals different amounts of conservation of resources, for in order to raise its combined labor productivity by 10 percent as well, the second enterprise would require the use of additional capital outlays.

In the period of the planned familiarization with technically advanced and highly productive yet initially expensive new capacities, the growth of the specific labor productivity is computed on the basis of correction coefficients such as, as a rule, $(C/W \times 0.7 + C/A \times 0.3)Q$. Generally, these coefficients (0.7 and 0.3) correspond to the share of productive capital outlays in the final social product. This consolidates the unconditional Marxist-Leninist primacy of upgrading combined labor productivity in combination with ensuring, but on a secondary, a subordinate, level, the maximally possible economy of capital outlays. The results of this computation, based on the specific share of the corresponding personnel, are added to the result of the computation based on the general formula $(C/W \times C/A)$ of the growth of specific labor productivity of the remaining capacities of the industrial enterprise. Essentially, this approach ensures the unhindered use of the most advanced new equipment, which is frequently related to an initial sharp drop in end capital returns, even with the most thrifty utilization of capital outlays. If this condition is met, such an initial drop in the end capital returns and a corresponding leap in amortizations have

an overall positive (yes, positive!) significance, for they reflect the strengthened capital-labor ratio which is needed in order to ensure the highest possible upsurge in labor productivity and the expansion of sources for real accumulations. As the potential of the superior equipment is mastered, along with additional increases in combined labor productivity, there is a substantial increase in end capital returns as well. It is only such an increase and a corresponding reduction in amortizations that are of truly positive significance. This is a manifestation of the actual contradictions of the objective dialectics of the most advantageous type of technical progress and of the growth of social labor productivity.

In terms of its structure, following the installation of the equipment, the growth of specific labor productivity reflects overall labor savings rather than wage savings, as is the case under capitalism, consistent with the most profound and immanent objective content of profits and profit norms (profitability levels). By this token, inevitably the latter delayed technical progress and the growth of labor productivity. This is illustrated in the table. In the use of the most advanced technical variant (II), which maximally increases the initial combined labor productivity by a factor of 4, total labor outlays ($c + v + m$) per unit of output, based on planned data, i.e., on a static basis, are somewhat reduced compared with the replaced variant (I); in terms of dynamics, the identification of the rich potential of superior equipment ensures their greatest reduction (on this subject see KOMMUNIST No 11, 1977, pp 52-65). According to planned data, i.e., statically, conversely production costs rise strongly by 13.4 percent (!) while profits per unit of output, in comparable prices, drop sharply by a factor of 3.5. In this case a seeming static optimum, i.e., the biggest drop in production costs (by 4.5 percent) and, correspondingly, the most noticeable increase in profits (by a full 24 percent!), can be reached only with the application of the poor variant (VI) which initially raises the combined labor productivity by no more than a factor of 1.41 and which offers very poor potential opportunities for further development. The installation of superior equipment is delayed even further if we include additional payments for assets (actually, percentage norms), as such equipment does not yield the enterprise any profit (estimated) but seemingly tremendous "losses" in the range of 18.10 and 7.97 rubles per unit of output, respectively, for the best (II) and the less perfect (III) technical variants (providing that their planned parameters have been reached!), compared with the "fixed" estimated profit of 11.14 rubles, based on the older variant scheduled for replacement.

Unlike the most intensive and spasmodic growth of combined labor productivity (by a factor of 4), the level of profitability (profit norm) shows an even stronger declining trend compared with the current size of profits. It jumps to 10.8 and 18.8 percent only if we use the most backward and underproductive technical variants (VII and VIII). Such is the twisted logic of so-called "reduced outlays," which show a rather considerable seeming "increase" in cost (by 53 percent), despite a very strong increase in combined labor productivity (by a factor of 4). Conversely, they also prove the existence of the highest (by 1.3 percent) reduction of costs when combined labor productivity rises by no more than a 1.21 factor.

Let us note that with the systematic installation of superior equipment no real relative shortage of capital investments develops even initially, statically, if we ignore superficial views and remember that the production amortization fund is as powerful a source of real accumulations in the national economy as is the added product (the profit) itself, as was already pointed out. Both statically and

dynamically, the most substantial overall resources for real accumulations are formed precisely in the course of the systematic development and application of the most advanced and most productive, although initially expensive, new equipment. In the application of the most advanced technical variants (II), from the very beginning the overall real accumulation resources per unit of output, as the sum total of the added product and of production amortization ($m + c_1$) reach a maximum of $4.52 + 29 = 33.52$ rubles as against $9.81 + 22.8 = 32.61$ rubles and $15.41 + 15 = 30.41$ rubles if we apply the next most advanced (III and IV) variants. These indicators become even worse in the case of the most backward (VII and VIII) variants, being, respectively, $19.33 + 6.6 = 25.93$ and $19.02 + 6.45 = 25.37$ rubles, as against $15.82 + 6 = 21.82$ rubles in the base variant to be replaced (I).

From our viewpoint, the decisive merit of the specific labor productivity is that in an overall rational way it increases the more advanced and highly productive is the latest equipment installed. It consolidates the highest economy of the entire amount of labor (direct and related), not only the one paid through wages but in terms of added payments, less in its static than, precisely, in its continuing dynamic state, as this is consistent with the vital requirement of accelerating the development of production forces and technical progress and the great historical advantages of socialism, which were brilliantly discovered by Marx. The theoretical stipulation that "labor productivity determines the size of the consumer value produced in the course of a specific period of time and, consequently, also in the course of a specific added working time, is of fundamental significance. Consequently, the true wealth of society and the possibility of steadily expanding its reproduction process depend not on the length of the added labor (size of profits--the authors) but on its productivity and on the greater and lesser availability of the necessary production conditions under which it takes place" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 25, pt II, p 286). The growth of the specific labor productivity retains all positive aspects of the profits and profitability level, in the sense that it reflects savings of all types of production outlays. At the same time, it eliminates their inherent negative features. This means the practical application of Marx' prediction that "in the communist society machines will assume an entirely different scope compared with bourgeois society" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 23, p 404).

It is worth noting that as a result of the decline of the absolute superiority enjoyed by the United States in terms of the level of labor productivity of late and the parallel retention by Japan and the FRG of the low level of wages, goods produced by the latter have started frequently to compete with American goods successfully. This has been a subject of concern and a bourgeois economist has been forced to point out in the leading U.S. business publication that one of the charges leveled "against the highest management of American companies is that they are ascribing excessive importance to short-term results at the expense of long-term ones. Looking at the roots of this omission, some critics have mentioned the influence of business schools which emphasize the determination of management effectiveness on the basis of current balance sheets (showing current profits--the authors). Others have indicated the adverse effect of high company officials who handle securities and who must be concerned with short-term current profitability if they are to retain and expand the circle of securities investors. In their efforts to maintain the level of their stocks, such officials are pressuring other members of the board who are asked to show short-term current profits. Some critics also claim that bonuses to higher level managers, based on annual profit percentages, intensify even further their tendency to ensure short-term profitability. Since long-term investments lower the results shown on the

current balance sheets (i.e., current profits--the authors), an orientation to short-term benefits discourages measures aimed at increasing the growth rates and competitiveness in the long term, such as the building of new capacities, increasing outlays for research and development with a view to mastering the production of new goods, patient concentration of long efforts to gain new foreign markets, and holding back the production of goods until they have reached planned quality and complete reliability. The cumulative consequences of all this greatly weaken our competitiveness" (W. Bowen, "How To Regain Our Own Competitive Edge," FORTUNE, 9 March 1981, p 84). In simple terms, all of this means the slowdown of technical progress and of the growth of labor productivity for the sake of immediate profits.

Nevertheless, some capitalist companies, particularly the biggest ones in the United States, are sometimes forced to "take a risk" and master the use of the latest equipment despite the impossibility of showing any profit for many years. They rely on the fact that progressive technical inventions, as their potential becomes apparent in the course of time, will be redeemed a hundredfold. The price of goods will drop substantially, competitors will be pushed out of the market and profits which were not earned and, to an even greater extent, the profit norms which were not reached in the initial years will be subsequently compensated by a considerable increase in overall profits. Under the conditions of a planned socialist economy there are no economic grounds for such obviously rag-tag corrections of the regressive influence of profits and profit norms, not to mention the halfway, entirely unsatisfactory nature of such a "patchwork."

The controversial role of profits as an indicator of production effectiveness rises even further with the conversion of entire ministries to economic incentive based on percentage withholdings from profits in their favor. This actually means that the more the enterprises and ministries will utilize less advanced and less productive but initially less expensive (pseudo-inexpensive!) new equipment, the more severely will they fall back, in fact, in terms of the growth of labor productivity and the more freely they will be able to increase the size of current profits and benefit from higher profit withholdings. As a result of the use of the most progressive and productive yet initially expensive equipment, after increased amortizations current profits may grow to a lesser extent, not grow at all or even decline per unit of output, despite the greatest possible increase in labor productivity. Subsequently, over a long period of time, as the potential of the most advanced new equipment is revealed, the real mass of the added product (profit) will yield the highest increase.

Consistent with the Marxist viewpoint, at the December 1972 CC CPSU Plenum Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out entirely legitimately that "enterprises can increase their profits...by unjustifiably raising prices and abandoning the production of goods 'unprofitable' to the enterprise but needed by the country." On the basis of upside-down logic, however, it is precisely the most progressive new equipment that appears "unprofitable." Ever more alarming reports are being received on delays in the development and use of most advanced and highly productive machines at scientific organizations and enterprises under the pressure of economic effectiveness criteria such as profits and levels of profitability (recovery period). This makes even more urgent the categorical demand formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th party congress: "Everything which makes the process of the application of new developments more difficult, slower and more painful, must be eliminated. It is in the vital interest of the production process to master the results of the thinking and the efforts of scientists and designers more rapidly and better. The solution of this

problem is, naturally, not easy. It calls for the elimination of obsolete habits and indicators. However, it is absolutely necessary for the country, the people and our future."

Under socialism and communism indicators such as production costs and profits retain their legitimate positive role exclusively as economic distribution categories which reflect in the national economy the size of current accumulations but do not belong in the least in the category of production effectiveness. Furthermore, the growth of specific labor productivity as a criterion of the dynamic economic effectiveness of the production process and the installation of the equipment is expanded by the criterion of the economic effectiveness of output in its static aspect, for each specific (accountability) period. The enterprises regularly register the only effective category of actual production costs, as stipulated by Marx (total labor outlays), per unit of output, on the individual and average sectorial (average social) levels. The uniform national economic added labor (product) norm in terms of current full wage outlays is added to the refined production cost which covers the full wages (including all bonuses and supplements) and does include the elements of the added product (social insurance withholdings). In our view, this totally eliminates the inefficient and paradoxical changes in production costs and profits as production effectiveness indicators inherited from the past, historically limited and of sub-standard quality. The positive economic consequences include, for example, the fact that major obstacles are removed from the way of intensified production specialization. This eliminates a situation in which the production of spare parts by the enterprise itself, at a higher cost, is presented as being less expensive, for it is improperly compared with outside purchases of specialized items at wholesale prices, which also include the added labor (product) value.

The third structural element in the growth of specific labor productivity--the increased quality coefficient (Q)--reflects the important additional means for upgrading social labor productivity. It is within it that the foundations for a precise quantitative measurement of improved consumer values with given social labor outlays, without any price increase, are laid. This is consistent with the basic objectives of socialism and represents the type of achievement which generally remains out of reach for the methods of commodity, of capitalist economic management. The possibility arises of computing the qualitatively new indices of the growth of the end social product, including that of industry, agriculture, and so on, which reflects not only the growth of the physical volume of output (compared with labor outlays in the base year), as has been essentially accepted so far, but with the improved consumer values under specific social labor outlays as well, i.e., it becomes possible to determine the real size of increase of the real material wealth produced within the society.

The coefficients of the improved quality of labor means and objects (Q) reflect improvements in the consumer values, taking into consideration their manufacturing costs, by determining savings in social labor in the course of their industrial consumption. They are computed in accordance with the formula of the growth of specific labor productivity under operational conditions, a formula which is applicable to all sectors. Improvements in the other useful features (ergonomical, industrial esthetics and so on) are assessed additionally, with the help of a points system. In connection with the new technical parameters the coefficients of improved quality of consumer goods are computed similarly; in the case of consumer demands expressed in the course of the sale of such goods, they are computed also in accordance with the relative speed at which they are sold out in retail trade.

For example, the installation of two automatic assembly lines for control-assembly operations with an annual output of 7 million bearings reduces the number of basic and repair workers by a factor of 3.77 and electric power by a factor of 1.4. Capital investments rise by a 2.43 factor and material outlays for current repairs by a factor of 3.62. Correspondingly, the combined labor productivity reaches 375.15 percent; the end capital return drops initially to 40.86 percent while the growth of specific labor productivity, based on the conditions under which the automated assembly lines are operated, becomes $(375.15 \times 0.7) + (40.86 \times 0.3) = 274.86$ percent; in other words, the coefficient of production quality improvement (Q) equals 2.7.

Wholesale prices exactly consistent with the actual production costs--increased, kept the same, or even lowered, with no artificial supplements--similar to those applied today in awarding the Emblem of Quality--are applied for goods certified on the basis of the quality increase coefficient (Q). All other conditions being equal, the higher the price of the improved commodity, the less the coefficient of increased quality becomes and vice versa. The enterprises themselves become interested in mastering the production of goods distinguished by a maximum increase in their useful features at the most moderate prices possible. It is this that most frequently leads to the highest increase in specific labor productivity. The elimination of artificial price increases for technically progressive items directly contributes to the accelerated pace of technical progress and the improved satisfaction of social needs.

There are other advantages as well. To begin with, the Emblem of Quality is awarded equally whatever the quantitative improvement in the effectiveness of goods may be, whether 10, 50 or 100 percent or more. The quality improvement coefficient establishes the precise quantitative measure of the growth of their usefulness. Secondly, the comparison between such goods and similar goods, particularly of foreign manufacture, may sometimes be imprecise or formal. The certification of the coefficient of improved production quality (Q) always reflects the actual changes and excludes any fictitious element. Thirdly, the awarding of the Emblem of Quality for 3 years and the payment of price supplements for as many as 5 make it possible for the enterprises not to be concerned in the course of that time with further improvements in the quality of the goods, although new technical possibilities frequently become apparent. Conversely, the omission of such opportunities becomes impossible without a drop in the actual rise of the coefficient Q and the specific labor productivity which, as we pointed out, determine economic incentive. Fourthly, something of particular importance, the granting of an Emblem of Quality is based most frequently on a comparison between our high quality goods and foreign models which are inevitably already known on the market but not in the least with the latest models which the biggest capitalist countries are developing secretly, in preparation for their imminent market offering. This procedure contains in itself the elements of a constant lag. The undeviating interest of our producers in reaching maximum values for the quality increase coefficient (Q) would bring about intensive development and production of progressive items on a parallel basis with the foreign companies, of equal or superior quality, without any wasteful competition.

Consistent labor wholesale prices, precisely equal to the average social full labor outlays and actual production costs, are introduced. The price-setting profitability of all goods, consistent with the objective advantages of socialism, is established as an even proportion of the total wage, in accordance with a standardized national economic ratio between the added product and the full wages of all workers engaged in material production, i.e., it becomes strictly proportional to the labor efforts

of the producers. Distortions related to drastic fluctuations in price profitability are eliminated and the influence of wholesale prices in terms of accelerating the pace of technical progress becomes incomparably stronger. The wholesale price level is accurately set on the basis of their regular decline as production outlays diminish. The enterprises themselves and the superior economic units become interested in the regular and properly proportioned lowering of wholesale prices, for in this manner the growth of the volumes of end (conventional--net) output and of specific labor productivity become, quite naturally, more favorable in terms of reflecting lowered social labor outlays accurately.

In price setting based on asset profitability, i.e., on the "production price" model, technically progressive items, produced with extensive production facilities and low labor outlays, i.e., goods which are in reality relatively inexpensive, become artificially and drastically more expensive. Conversely, commodities manufactured on a low technical level of production facilities and major labor outlays, i.e., actually more expensive, become artificially inexpensive.

For example, according to the labor-intensive technical variant to be replaced (I) (see table), the production price turns out to be lower than the labor price by 4.1 percent. Conversely, according to the superior (II) variant, which requires lesser social labor outlays by a factor of 4 per unit of output, it climbs upward sharply, by 53 percent above the labor price. The inefficient price increase disappears only with the almost worst (VII) variant which increases combined labor productivity by no more than a 1.26 factor. According to this upside-down logic of production prices, the greatest savings in labor time turn into the opposite, a seemingly high "increased cost" of output. This inevitably slows down the pace of development and dissemination in the national economy of the latest equipment precisely, which is presented in an entirely false light as excessively expensive and "ineffective."

The stipulation that stable wholesale prices must be retained for a period of the five-year plan inevitably delays the dissemination in the national economy of progressive new equipment, particularly basically new items, the actual production costs of which decline rapidly. This inevitably slows down the pace of technical progress and worsens the level of satisfaction of social requirements.

Objective Socialist Competition and Economic Incentive

Objective socialist competition and economic incentive develop the direct interest of socialist producers not merely to fulfill and overfulfill their plans, which may be lowered for subjective reasons, but to reach the best possible actual production results on the basis of the steady formulation and implementation of intensive and stressed production plans.

The subjective shortcomings in economic incentive can be radically eliminated. Such shortcomings are based "on the plan," in the course of which all economic units try to have their plans reduced as much as possible. The situation seems quite simple: let us assume that over the 5-year period the volume of output can be increased by 40 percent; the advance figure suggested is an easy 20 percent; the control figures call for 22 percent; the five-year plan calls for 24 percent and the sum total of annual counterplans calls for 25 percent, which means that their overfulfillment equals 26 percent. As a result the material incentive funds are increased while the real lowering of the planned figures remains substantial, on the 14-percent level,

or by one-third of the possible increase in output over the 5-year period. The arbitrary issuing of increased planned assignments from above is inevitably subjective, frequently causes disproportions and cannot yield required results.

The "stable" economic norms set for 5 years in advance neither can nor should remain stable because of continuing and not entirely predictable changes, particularly in production technology, i.e., for objective reasons. Conversely, they must be creatively flexible, creatively unstable. This entirely validates the truth that the plan is not a dogma but a manual for action. Any instruction issued to ministries and enterprises to draft progressive norms for outlays, a "passport" for the enterprise, something which, essentially, has been done in the past as well, in one way or another, remains insufficiently effective, for if the objective is to lower planned proposals it is possible to lower both normative outlays and the enterprise's "passport." Furthermore, as it has been stipulated, outlay norms must be updated annually in accordance with the continuing and partially unexpected scientific and technical changes. "Stable" economic norms, covering a 5-year period, inevitably detach themselves from outlay norms and become imaginary. Because of shortcomings in the economic incentive system, it frequently turns out that those who are more successful in having their basic five-year plan lowered harvest the greatest benefits as a result of its seeming fulfillment and overfulfillment. Conversely, he who drafts a taut, a technically progressive five-year plan conscientiously, persistently and creatively, a plan which, by virtue of the objective impossibility to predict accurately in advance the course of development of considerable technical innovations and which, by virtue of the level of stress of technical assignments invariably involves the risk of a certain underfulfillment, may turn out to be the loser and appears unreliable, although his actual accomplishments are incomparably higher than the results of the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the lowered five-year plan. It is high time to break this vicious circle which, even with the best subjective intentions, literally disarms creative and intensive work.

The system of production planning, objective socialist competition and economic incentive to which, we believe, enterprises, middle economic levels, ministries and all departments can be simultaneously converted, offers a fruitful solution to this major problem.

The first general law of objective economic incentive is for the average sectorial amounts of material incentive funds and bonuses for all workers, ranging from enterprises to ministry and department managements, to be based not on plan fulfillment but on the absolute acceleration (slowed down) or relative acceleration of actual average annual growth rates of specific labor productivity in all enterprises within the sector over a flexible 5-year period (the 4 preceding and the current year), compared with the preceding 5-year period (moved back by 1 year). This flexible 5-year period will offer the necessary stable yet unlimited scope for rewarding the persistent efforts aimed at the steady familiarization with the latest equipment.

In industry, in the broad meaning of the term, in accordance with the currently developing national economic ratios, the base average sectorial norms of withholding for the material incentive fund (in proportion to the planned wage rate fund) are raised, to begin with, by 10 percent in order to maintain parity with the actual average annual rates of growth of specific labor productivity in the sectorial enterprises within the flexible 5-year period, compared with the previous one. Secondly, they are increased by yet another 12 percent (this norm is changed upwards or

downwards by industrial sector, depending on objective differences in their pace of development) for each percentage of absolute acceleration of the same actual average annual rates over the flexible 5-year period; or else, the proportional slowdown norm is subtracted from their 10-percent growth (such as, for example, 5 percent) for every percentage of absolute slowdown of the same actual average annual pace during the flexible 5-year period. Thirdly, in the cases indicated above they are raised by a 5 percent supplement per each percentile point of relative acceleration, i.e., for raising in the flexible 5-year period the ratio between the indicator of the actual average annual growth rates of specific labor productivity and the indicator of the growth in the amount of final output. The actual average sectorial norm of withholdings for the material incentive fund, based on each separate fiscal year, becomes the base average annual norm for the subsequent fiscal year. Because of this, it is only the very fast and immediate mobilization of all growing production opportunities within each period that ensures the most favorable growth of incentive funds, which is consistent with achieving the most substantial increase in national economic results.

The second general law is that the enterprises within each sector are classified in accordance with the average annual pace of renovation of productive capital during the 5-year period under consideration and, if necessary, additionally, depending on the starting level of the combined labor productivity and of intrasectorial differences in the technological structure of the production process. It is on this basis that objective, group-individual and stable-flexible norms are set for the average annual growth of specific labor productivity for the flexible 5-year period, based on the intensiveness of the average annual renovation of their productive capital. The average sectorial material incentive funds up to the 90-percent level are distributed among enterprises in accordance with the coefficient of their fulfillment of group-individual norms of average annual growth of specific labor productivity. The reserve part, amounting to 10 percent, is distributed as required (fully or partially), according to the assessment of the influence which individual objective production conditions in the separate enterprises has on the growth of the specific labor productivity.

The approval, fulfillment and even overfulfillment of actually reduced production plans, including "counterplans," become entirely unprofitable. The economic incentive funds are inevitably reduced, for the actual growth of specific labor productivity remains unsatisfactory. The winners in the actual and objective labor competition and those who deserve good bonuses are exclusively the economic units which apply energetically and firmly their persistent and creative efforts in the elaboration and the fastest possible utilization of the latest equipment, formulate and fulfill stressed and intensive production plans and mobilize immediately their entire production possibilities with a view to achieving the highest possible increase in the real, the end volumes of high-quality output and comprehensively reducing all different production outlays. Tireless creative efforts in the area of the fastest possible development and utilization of the most advanced and most productive new equipment become the inviolable law of economic life, for it is only thus that steady intensive actual growth rates of specific labor productivity and increases in bonus funds can be achieved. In turn, normative outlays are continually and automatically revised in the most progressive direction. Their revision is not a subjective directival and insufficiently effective base for triggering the interest of producers. On the contrary, they become the fruitful result of precisely their objective economic interest in ensuring through stressed and creative

efforts steady and best possible production accomplishments. The actual logic of such phenomena is precisely the opposite of what some planning workers and economists believe.

The lowering of production plans loses its entire economic meaning. It is only thanks to the formulation of progressive and intensive production plans that enterprises and ministries can set aside on the basis of a centralized planned procedure the capital and material resources they need for ensuring actual intensive growth rates of specific labor productivity. At the same time, the submission of planned requests for unnecessary capital investments, unnecessary construction, unnecessary unfinished construction, and unnecessary material stocks, given the increased and high-quality output, become quite unprofitable, for this inevitably delays the actual growth rates of specific labor productivity and hurts incentive funds.

The material incentive fund becomes uniform for all worker categories, covering the piece rate and bonus supplements paid to workers (because of the indicated hindrances this procedure was not tested in the experiment). The bonus foundations of their wages become substantially reorganized. The wages of both piece rates and hourly workers depend, in the final account, no longer on the fulfillment or overfulfillment of labor norms which, under such a procedure, are inevitably subjectively reduced, but on actual improvements in labor results. The amount of the bonus, including the piece rate supplement, depends, first of all, on the size of the material incentive fund of the enterprise as a whole, which reflects the intensiveness of the actual growth rates of specific labor productivity. Secondly, it depends on the ratio among the indicators of plan fulfillments for the growth or the level of the specific or combined labor productivity, on the one hand, for the enterprise at large and, on the other, for the individual shop and within the shop, respectively for each sector and, within the sector, for each individual skill (also on the basis of specific output indicators, which include the consideration of saved materials and improved quality of output or operations). Thirdly, it depends on the ratio between the average actual level of output by skill in the sector (shop), on the one hand, and the level of output of each brigade and every individual worker, on the other. Correspondingly, at the beginning of each year time and output norms are operatively equated to their average actual level reached the previous year. It would no longer make any sense for the workers to hold back the overfulfillment of norms and their revision, as is the case presently, for in the final account the output will not depend on the formal fulfillment and overfulfillment of labor norms but exclusively on the reaching of the best actual production results. An inflexible and uniform individual and collective material incentive develops among the workers and the engineering and technical personnel to seek and find actively, creatively and steadily all available opportunities for actually increasing output, whether their own or that of the section, sector, shop and enterprise as a whole, with a view to ensuring the maximum actual increase of the specific labor productivity and the corresponding bonuses. This is also consistent with the single interest of all workers to apply in the course of the first calendar year technically substantiated norms based on the installation of new equipment, the updating of operating equipment and the making of organizational-technical improvements. This fully resolves the most important problem formulated by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev at the 26th congress: "Our system of material and moral incentives must always and comprehensively ensure the just and objective evaluation of individual labor contributions. We must comprehensively encourage conscientious workers and leave no loopholes to parasites and wastemakers for living the good life without work. He who wants to live better must work more and better. This, I believe, is clear to everyone."

The material incentive fund is computed on a centralized basis together with its wage rate part, precisely in accordance with the actual work results of the individual enterprise, with no restrictions whatsoever within the limits of the stipulated norms, which are consistent with the national economic ratios. The entire cost effectiveness mechanism of the socialist distribution according to labor becomes radically improved. Differences in enterprise profitability (high, low, or working at a loss), predetermined by inevitable objective differences according to the planned balance of available technical facilities, do not hinder in the least collectives of less well-equipped enterprises in efforts to increase intensively their specific labor productivity through creative labor efforts, compared with their group conditions, and to deserve greater bonuses which thus become economically quite effective. Conversely, high profitability (in terms of production costs) at enterprises, based on their latest equipment even in the case of an insufficient level of utilization of the latest equipment, will not save their collectives from the fully deserved reduction in the bonus, which thus proves to be unquestionably economically effective. This surmounts the historical fault and insufficient effectiveness of the most profound levers of the commodity production mechanism, market rivalries and the effect of the law of value, based on the rather primitive comparison among absolute levels of production costs of the individual producers, for which reason it is organically unable selectively to distinguish between the effect of subjective and objective factors influencing production results. Actually, socially this is precisely consistent with the customs of the jungle of the marketplace. The decisive superiority of objective socialist competition and economic incentive is that it is based on qualitatively new economic foundations: on the dynamic comparison among actual rates of improvement of production accomplishments. It is on this basis that we separate the influence of subjective production factors on production results from the influence of objective factors and firmly ensure the just reward for labor, which becomes the greatest factor in the fruitful mobilization of the creative capabilities of the broadest possible masses of producers. It is natural that in this manner, in the course of time, the highest absolute economic results are achieved as well.

Even in the case of "ideal" capitalist competition areas of technical stagnation develop, caused by the fact that the entrepreneurs who have leaped ahead in terms of the intensiveness of mastering the use of new machines and lowering production costs can rest on their laurels until their rivals begin to catch up with them. Under the conditions of capitalist production monopoly such stagnation areas increase. Conversely, by virtue of objective socialist competition and economic incentive, a highly equipped enterprise, along with any other, must move ahead as intensively as possible in accordance with their group conditions, for in the opposite case the amount of the bonus is immediately reduced. This is a manifestation of the important historical superiority of objective socialist competition over the notorious marketplace rivalry.

With only a few purely practical changes, the objective socialist competition and economic incentive are entirely applicable, in our view, in all economic sectors (including agriculture, construction and so on). It has a beneficial counter-influence on all aspects of centralized planning and social production progress. This important aspect of the matter deserves particular consideration.

We must emphasize that in the course of the experiment no eternal negative aspects were found. The results, in our view, are of essential significance. It was actually

proved that a real possibility exists radically to improve the entire system of centralized planning and management of the development of public production on the basis of the discovery and utilization of specific, progressive and rational economic categories and corresponding objective laws of socialism, historically new in terms of content and form. In this manner, as the results of the experiment confirm, the considerable unused reserves which have accumulated in the national economy can be mobilized quickly.

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HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY AS A SCHOOL OF THOUGHT

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[Article by Professor A. Losev]

[Text] The history of philosophy is an area of knowledge from which the theory of knowledge must develop. It is only with its help that the people were able to understand how the forms and categories of theoretical thinking, the methods for mastering reality by the mind and methodological culture, based, according to Marxism-Leninism, on materialism and dialectics, could be formulated. Let us recall F. Engels' words that "...theoretical thinking is an innate characteristic only as an ability. This ability must be developed and improved. So far, however, no means to achieve this can be found other than the study of all previous philosophy" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 20, p 366).

Through their study of records of spiritual culture the historians of philosophy recreate and study the establishment, dynamics and development of the human mind and its ascension from lower to higher stages. They study the evolution of theoretical views and the factors which motivate their origin and development. Since past philosophers were driven ahead not only by the power of pure thought, as they frequently seemed to believe, but by the ever faster and more energetic development of material practice, naturally, the history of philosophy is based on the data of all historical sciences and tries to speak in the "enlightened language of the social mind" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 1, p 108). It is interested not only in a description of acquired data, without which, naturally, no science is possible, but in the experience of knowledge in general, in summing up the path covered by many sciences. "The continuation of the work of Hegel and Marx," V. I. Lenin emphasized, "must consist of the dialectical development of history of human thinking, science and technology" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 29, p 131).

No one could be a skillful expert in philosophy without a good knowledge of its history, a knowledge which is not descriptive but based directly on sources. This must be a knowledge not simply of the various viewpoints, concepts and theories, or the simple critical mastering of such viewpoints for the sake of insuring oneself against one-sidedness or the repetition of past efforts, but for the reproduction of the evolution of the mind which took it to its present condition and is advancing it upward to new heights.

A thorough knowledge of history helps in the interpretation not only of what has happened but what is happening, and in summing up the phenomena of reality and the creative development of theory. This mandatorily requires a consistent ideological line based on Marxist-Leninist methodology. Ties with practical work and with the vital tasks of our time enhance the effectiveness of science. This fully applies to the history of philosophy as well. There is no place here for scholastic theorizing which can only hinder the progress of thinking. This was pointed out in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress. "A tendency toward scholastic theorizing, as mentioned at the 25th congress as well," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, has still not been surmounted. Philosophers quite frequently prefer to prove the already proven instead of interpreting the new phenomena of reality." This entirely accurate remark made by the CC CPSU general secretary directs all Soviet scientists to adopt an even more responsible attitude toward their work and engage in even deeper and bolder studies which will truly enhance our entire culture.

But where, for example, do we find the instructive experience of ancient philosophy?

It was the first form of dialectical philosophy known in Europe. Its various manifestations contained the embryos of virtually all subsequent types of world outlooks. That is why, as in many other areas, in philosophy we must turn again and again to the exploits of "that small nation whose universal talent and activities secured it a place in the history of the development of mankind to which no other people can lay claim," Engels wrote in his "Dialectics of Nature" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 20, p 369).

What is the most attractive feature of ancient philosophy? It is its integral view of the world. The ancient Greeks had not reached the level of self-sufficient analysis or the abstract-metaphysical classification of nature. At that time they considered it as a single entity in terms of the unity of its components and the universal connection among all phenomena. However, despite the refined nature of the dialectics of the integral and the parts, this integrity remains, nevertheless, the result of direct observation. Engels pointed this out as a shortcoming of ancient Greek philosophy, as a result of which, subsequently, it was forced to yield to other views. "However, this was also its superiority over all subsequent metaphysical opponents. Whereas metaphysics is right in terms of the Greeks in the details, as a whole, the Greeks are right in terms of metaphysics" (ibid).

Was it not this integrity which created the perfection of the artistic figures of antiquity? To this day they give us esthetic pleasure, preserving, in a certain sense, the significance of norms and of the unreachable model.

The ancient philosophers of the mature classical period considered the cosmos as well not merely as a certain abstract definition (in which case it would have been merely pure thought) but as a perfect live and indivisible body which contained an unbreakable integrity, despite endless differences in its possible manifestations. From Plato's viewpoint and, in general, from the viewpoint of the entire ancient cosmology, the world is a proportional entity which obeys the law of harmonic division, of the gold section (i.e., in it the whole relates to the greater part and the greater part relates to the smaller part). Incidentally, the ancient Greeks subordinated their architectural systems to this law.

Literature frequently depicts their system of cosmic proportions as a strange result of an unbridled wild imagination. Such interpretations reveal the anti-scientific helplessness of their authors. However, this historical-esthetic phenomenon can be understood only in connection with the overall understanding of history, i.e., by using the dialectical-materialistic view on culture and seeking the answer in the characteristics of social life in antiquity.

In order for the suggested understanding of the history of philosophy to be able to serve best modern requirements, I shall formulate four theses.

1. Our contemporary philosophical thinking must not be below the philosophical forms which have existed in history but superior to them. It must be not worse but better than they. However, in order to achieve this we must be able to make use of all positive achievements of the past and be able to surmount all its negative sides. This means it is precisely the history of philosophy that is the true philosophical school.

2. In order to understand any past theory means not only to be able to tell its content but to provide a logical analysis of the consistency of its immanent development. Most important, we must be able to interpret a given philosophical theory against the background of respective social and cultural-historical development. The latter can be determined only on the basis of the theory of sociohistorical systems. That which is considered outside such systems is not history; philosophical theory is totally unrelated to it and is not the kind of historical entity which we could accept or reject.

3. Ancient philosophy developed on the basis of the initial two sociohistorical systems: the communal-tribal (or primitive-communal) and the slaveowning. The mind of the communal-tribal man could understand only what was communal and tribal, i.e., direct parental relations; by transferring such parental relations to nature and the entire world, man conceived of the entire nature and the entire world as a huge tribal community. But this means that communal-tribal thinking was necessarily mythological. However, following the growth of production forces and, above all, in connection with population increases, this communal-tribal collectivism lost its "profitability," thus yielding to the development of some kind of individual initiative. Soon afterwards this made necessary a division between mental and physical labor, and a society in which some people think but do not work while others work but do not think is a slaveowning, an exploiting, society.

4. The slaveowning system, within which ancient philosophy developed for at least an entire millenium, left its mark on all philosophical methods once and for all. Slavery, which was so progressive initially (as we know, this was eloquently described by Engels), strongly restricted the independent and unique value of the individual, not only of the slave but of the slaveowner as well. The fact that labor was limited by the physical potential of the human organism influenced all forms of social consciousness, however remote they may have been from economics. It also defined philosophical thinking, mythology and religion.

After 60 years of work in the field of ancient philosophy, I consider these four theses axiomatic.

Actually, why did ancient man consider the cosmos as the most perfect work of art and of all reality--the physically perceivable, visible and audible cosmos, with its entire star-studded sky and its amazingly accurate movements? Only because the human body, the body with a spirit and a mind, on whose functioning the entire slave-owning system was based, was mentally taken to its final limit and transformed into a living, animate and sensible cosmos. Even Plato concluded his theory of the creation of the world with solemn words on the living animate cosmos.

The physically perceivable cosmos was represented as a living, three-dimensional body, complete and proportional, like the human body which, to the ancient philosopher, could not be excelled. The ancient philosopher saw in the regular forms of the cosmos, in their reciprocal harmony, the truth, beauty, completeness of the surrounding world.

What were the ancient gods? Christianized Europe always tended to consider them as excessively spiritual and lofty, and excessively removed from material man. In fact, however, it is entirely accurate to consider that the ancient gods were only the result of the deification of nature. The gods were immortal and omnipotent, each one within his area. However, in ancient times they also had absolutely all the human weaknesses, vices, errors and even various types of criminal inclinations, and they committed criminal actions. Look for and find one or another pattern in the reality surrounding them. However, the ancient man had not reached the level of developing accurate concepts regarding the laws of nature. To him such "laws" were represented by the gods, i.e., by human-shaped beings outside of whom nothing existed. These beautiful gods frequently proved to be quite imperfect morally, and in possession of all kinds of ridiculous shortcomings, including an operetta-style levity. This was the result of the excessively anthropomorphic concept of them which, in turn, was the result of excessively impersonal sociohistorical development and of the realities of the communal-tribal and slaveowning systems.

Despite all of this, however, I categorically insist that this type of anthropomorphic way of thinking, which developed on the soil of the first two systems, should be understood precisely as the structure of the individual aspect of the sociohistorical development of the times, rather than as a direct substitution of all sides of this development and as a depersonalized superstructure. This guarantees the proper understanding of the specific nature of the immanent development of all aspects of social life in ancient society and provides an explanation for something usually difficult to explain.

Thus, it becomes clear why all ancient philosophy is imbued with a materialistic trend and why materialism was still a primordial force at that time, in addition to being entirely contemplative, unable to change reality. It becomes clear why in ancient times not only the materialists conceived of man as the creation of nature. Plato himself demanded of every person for his soul to be enhanced and act like the starry sky. It becomes clear why rhythm, symmetry and proportion are so popular in ancient philosophical categories: because the living, animate-thinking human body cannot be taken to some infinite lengths but, on the basis of its own self, was able ideally to fulfill its own purpose and all that it needed was its own ideal structure and nothing else. It is clear, therefore, why the eternal return to nature was transferred to the human world and why the idea of eternal return became one of the main ideas in the ancient perception of the world.

Only such a viewpoint explains why such an ideal-body sculptured (physically and metaphorically) perception of the world was paralleled in antiquity by the steady belief in fate and destiny. Like a living and healthy human body ancient man was exceptionally flexible, inventive, bright, dynamic and frequently, even daring. However, the sculptural primacy hindered the infinite independence of the human mind. In this case the mind was tied and helpless in providing an explanation for everything that existed, not to mention in formulating the laws of nature. However, since man has always had an urgent need to seek and find the final reasons, to the ancient man this final reason was something serious and unexpected, something beyond thinking, i.e., destiny. An energetic self-seeking sculpture and the strange fatalism were the necessary ideological results of the communal-tribal and slaveowning relations. "Fate" is a slaveowning concept.

All of this antique-primordial materialism, the ability merely to contemplate reality without changing it, all of this sculptural admiration of the healthy and beautiful human body, this entire sensory yet orderly moving space, and all of these gods which represented principles, material beauty and material ugliness, everything good and bad, was acquired in antiquity at a stiff price, i.e., through the primacy of communal-tribal and slaveowning relations. It was not some petty or ignored philosopher but Aristotle himself who proved that the entire gradation in real life is based on the relationship between parents and children, i.e., on the purely family relations, while at the same time any logical subordination of the individual to the general and the dominance of the general over the individual were nothing but the universal, i.e., a cosmic slaveowning system. The idea is the father while matter is the mother, i.e., it is a specific-sensory object, made of matter but made meaningful through its idea, the offspring of the marriage of idea with matter. In precisely the same manner the tribal concept was broader and stronger in all its particulars, not to mention individual features.

For the past 200 years a polished image of Greece, full of serenity, beauty and harmony, has been popular in science (Winckelmann). Another typical and directly opposite viewpoint appeared in the 19th century, according to which the emphasis was on disharmony, disproportion and chaos (Burkhardt).

Both approaches are wrong because of their one-sidedness.

To me antiquity is rather restless and tense, conflicting in many respects and exceptionally sensitive to all factors which determine the dynamics of social progress. Actually, this does not eliminate the outstanding streamlined (I would say graceful) nature of all of its elaborations.

The Sophists and Socrates, who gave priority to man's spiritual search and constant striving for the new, played a tremendous role in shaping the very nature of ancient philosophy. They provided models of an attitude toward human thinking which would never leave man alone but would always urge him to argue, to question, and to "explode" enduring concepts. Virtually all of Plato's works are nothing but a description of verbal clashes, disagreements and, occasionally, insoluble conflicts. The very genre of discussion-dialogue he chose was the result of a dramatic understanding of this mental process in which there could not even be a question of a system completed once and for all, and in which the efforts of the mind were directed toward an eternal search and mistrust of the most obvious, combined with a passionate love for the living word, for rhetoric.

Quite frequently antiquity is imagined as something excessively contemplative, excessively ethical and static. In fact, however, even Plato, the founder of world-wide idealism, created works which were not only of a semifictional nature but were always filled with the passionate drama of thinking, with fountains of eloquence and a tireless thirst for new ideas, for unparalleled mental discoveries and intimate trepidation the moment even the slightest success in logic was achieved. There is something to be learned from Plato. He combines extreme fatalism and extreme drama within an indivisible whole.

Here is another important circumstance: ancient philosophy is quite esthetic. This is no accident, for ancient esthetics, generally speaking, was nothing other than the esthetics of life, not in the sense of an external embellishment or even simply an esthetic area which could have been deeper than a simple embellishment. No, it wanted to organize life itself, the substance of life, according to its own laws. It is the theory of this life. The world, whose absolute objective existence was preached by all philosophers, one way or another (both by those who gave primacy to matter over idea and those who, conversely, considered the idea above the matter), was conceived of as something esthetically beautiful. For example, the Stoics conceived of fictionalized nature as no less artistically meaningful, referring to it as a "painter." It could be said that in antiquity philosophy and esthetics were one and the same. Ancient esthetics was nothing other than a theory of expressive forms of that same existing cosmic entity, interpreted philosophically. It was from this point of view that the six volumes of my work "Istoriya Antichnaya Estetiki" [History of Ancient Esthetics] (1963-1981) can be considered simply as the history of ancient philosophy in its maximal integrity.

Esthetics has as its object the expressive forms of reality, both external and internal, applied to content and essence, and manifested on the surface. In this sense ancient Greek philosophy is not only full of esthetics but, in its highest forms, is esthetics. He who does not understand ancient philosophy with all its esthetic trends, particularly its esthetic completeness, has no understanding of ancient philosophy at all.

As early as 1930 I published my statistical study of Plato's texts, which included the terms "idea" and "eidos," and proved that in Plato these terms could assume either a strictly sensory meaning or an internal or internal-external meaning; the main and specific feature of their content is a purely expressive and, therefore, dialectical-esthetic meaning. After half a century of work with Greek and Latin texts, I now categorically claim that the entire ancient philosophical terminology, in its extreme completeness, has always been dialectical-esthetic in the meaning of the term I mentioned.

All this cannot fail to interest the philologist and the estheticist in his study of the history of ancient philosophy. However, something else is more important: all of us become even more interested in the dramatic nature of the developing mind, not the "drama of ideas," appearing out of nowhere, whether on the basis of data or invented by the "pure mind" and frozen once and forever, no, but as a result of the clash, the blossoming and the death of ideas which fill the active mind of mankind, embodied in practical activities, and transforming the world in accordance with mankind's interests.

Let us take as an example the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. One of the most famous schools of philosophy appeared in the south of Italy, in the city of Elea, in answer to the need of the ascending slaveowning society which was eliminating primitive and primordial collectivism and was pitting against it the initiative of the thinking individual. It drastically pitted thinking and mental life, on the one hand, against sensory perception and life perceived through the senses on the other. It gives unquestionable primacy to the first over the second side. However, in a theory crowded with mythological concepts, for the first time the cognitive role of the mind is given a high rating. Parmenides, the most noted representative of this school, spoke of distinguishing between truth based on thought and opinions based on the senses. What today is considered an elementary truth of any philosophy was at that time a real discovery. It was subsequently even claimed that Parmenides had "liberated thinking from the falsehood of imagination." Probably nothing was interpreted more divergently than the nature of relations between mental and sensory life, a distinction which never disappeared from the sight of the philosophers. That is how one of the "apples of discord" appeared, which is occupying minds to this day.

The Eleans thought that the sensory material world is in a state of eternal flux which does make it possible to describe objects quite clearly and distinctly. Each object develops into something new which is instantly different. According to their theory this makes it impossible to consider it an entity and to give it a specific name. Because of this, merely confused and unstable sensations could not lead to a knowledge of the world. Also needed were the elements of thinking which would detect in the unstable processes of the sensory world something stable, something permanent, something which could be described in words and whose specific meaning and content could be established.

It was thanks to the Eleans that philosophy experienced its first triumphs of abstract thinking. At the same time, the division between thinking and feeling led to a decline of mythology and its rejection as the only possible world view. Since thinking and feeling apply to one and the same object in this case, namely the material and sensory cosmos, the age-old indivisibility of the two is replaced by a trend toward their conscious and deliberate reunification. It is thus that ancient mythology is replaced by poetry and the artistic perception of the world.

Already at this point, in the initial stages of ancient philosophy, we find at every step something we can learn from. Is it possible, after the Eleans, not to make a basic distinction between thinking and feeling? Is it possible, after all pre-Socratic nature philosophy not to feel the urgent need to combine thinking with feeling within an individual entity? Is such a unification not achieved only as a result of dramatic and, sometimes, even totally tragic efforts? Did the sculptural method of thinking bypass Democritus, to whom atoms were nothing but minuscule statuettes? Was the cosmos to Democritus not the result of disorderly processes of universal chaos, and did Democritus fail to understand this with the help of the mind and of that same "logos," rejecting the isolated and autonomous sensory perception as "unreal" and "dark?" Did the ancient atomists not compare the integral reality arising from the atoms to tragedy and comedy, which also appear with the help of the individual and seemingly totally meaningless letters? In this sense again, did Democritus not describe his atoms as gods? Did Heraclitus not consider eternity "a child at play?" Was Socrates not punished for freedom of thought and was an attempt not made to kill Plato where he frequently went to teach the philosophical transformation of society and was he not sold into slavery?

I maintain that if you can imagine life in antiquity in all its specific details and in its full integrity, you will immediately draw the sharpest possible conclusions and begin to experience what makes antiquity so distant from us and what makes it an imperative model for emulation.

The Renaissance is a very interesting period in the history of philosophy. This interest in the Renaissance is explained not only by the exceptional wealth and variety of the social, political and cultural events which crowded it, and the great development of all types of artistic creativity but also because it marked the beginning of the so-called "modern times" to which we belong. As Engels pointed out, "this was the greatest progressive change of all changes ever experienced by mankind until that time, an age which needed giants and which created giants of the mind, passion and character, comprehensiveness and learning" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch.," Vol 20, p 346).

Scholastic and university practice has always proceeded from the sharp pitting of the Middle Ages against the Renaissance. This is quite understandable. However, a certain one-sided idea has developed about it: the bourgeois-liberal coloring of that age has become typical, in terms of seeing only the positive while ignoring the features which developed with the establishment and consolidation of the capitalist system and the monstrous faults which became sharply apparent in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Acquiring power through money, the medieval master became the greedy exploiter of the subsequent centuries. This characteristic expanded in the course of the centuries, until it reached its extreme--the claim of ruling the earth. Private initiative is the cult. The mind is filled with extreme individualism.

In describing the age of the Renaissance, Engels wrote: "The heroes of that time had not become as yet slaves of the division of labor which restricted and created a one-sidedness, the influence of which we can observe so frequently in their heirs" (Ibid, p 347).

However, subsequently, that which was merely apparent during the Renaissance became quite obvious. That is the reason for which I have discussed in several chapters the other side of the gigantic Renaissance accomplishments, and their adverse impact on later centuries.¹

It would be entirely erroneous, while noting the obvious humanistic trend of the Renaissance, not to note the opposite trend. The art of those times expressed not only the pathos of self-assertion and self-knowledge of the independent man but the weakness, even the feebleness, of Renaissance individualism. During that period all kinds of revelry of passions, arbitrariness and dissipation reached incredible heights. While not belittling the real beauty and nobility of the Renaissance, we must not ignore its opposite, alas, no less active side. The philosophical view presumes an understanding of the dialectics of interaction between the two sides, without which a historical analysis would be incomplete and inaccurate. The truly scientific approach is quite remote from idealizing any age. Its main purpose is to identify the springs moving the historical process and to interpret typical patterns on the basis of objective facts. Their knowledge helps us to understand our own time.

1. See A. F. Losev, "Estetika Vozrozhdeniya" [Esthetics of the Renaissance], Mysl', Moscow, 1978, 623 pages.

The primordial individualism of the Renaissance was sociohistorically determined. The philosophers and artists of the Renaissance held within themselves an infinite amount of power and the unparalleled opportunity to penetrate into the depths and inner emotions of man and the artistic features and omnipotent beauty of nature. However, even the greatest representatives of the Renaissance always felt the existence of some limits to the human being, a certain quite frequent helplessness in the reorganization of nature and in artistic-creative activities. This amazing duality of Renaissance esthetics is quite typical. However, this is also natural: could an individual, isolated from everything, above all from the human collective, be the absolute foundation of the ever advancing historical process?...He cannot. That is why, along with the inordinate power with which the human personality was asserted in all its beauty, variety and greatness of the age, the Renaissance was already calling, just as irrefutably and grandly, for replacing the individual and isolated human personality with the historically substantiated collective, considered in his entire all-human greatness.

Therefore, the epoch of the Renaissance, in its entire philosophical potential, can become the base for a school of thought only if the Renaissance itself is understood in the entire dramatic dialectics of its contradictions which, in the final account, does not exclude but presumes the historically determined full personality.

Therefore, at this point we have two "categorical imperatives." First, the great impact of the giants of the Renaissance must be accepted by us without reservation; and the respective explanations provided by the historians must in almost all cases be accepted by us with the greatest attention. Second, however, whenever absolute individualism, which reached the level of immoral anarchism and spiritual adventurism, is thought to be characteristic of the giants of the Renaissance, in no case can we use the Renaissance as an example. Scorning such deviations of the Renaissance, as we know it from history, is typical of the bourgeois glossing of that entire age and is incompatible with Marxist-Leninist historicism.

Let us now turn to our own century. Oswald Spengler wrote the first volume of his "Decline of the West," which could be described as a tragic work, in the midst of World War I. After World War II, H. G. Wells published "Mind at the End of Its Tether." At the beginning of the 1960's the book by Arthur Hubscher "Philosophers of Our Time (62 Portraits)" came out in a Russian translation. In a chapter with the expressive title of "The Philosophy of Decline," the author states: "The philosophers are seeking the reasons for the crisis and the ways for salvation in the final hour." Elsewhere he asks: "Is thinking not marching to its death?...Has philosophy not become unnecessary?" In the 1970's Lionel Trilling noted in his Thomas Jefferson lectures that many people "feel the helplessness of the mind in the contemporary world." I have been familiar since early youth with all these wailings concerning the end of Western culture. However, I developed my own view of this on an entirely different basis.

I recall how in my student years (even before World War I) I had a premonition of a global catastrophe....Plunged into philosophy up to my neck at Moscow University, I had little idea of what was happening around me. My teachers I considered quite unsatisfactory. Some of them were good specialists. However, their philosophical interests did not awaken the heart or satisfy the mind. I assiduously passed endless examinations. Suddenly, at the Bol'shoi Theater in Moscow, for the first time Richard Wagner's grandiose tetralogy "The Ring of the Nibelungen" was staged in full.

It was then that I learned the true subject of philosophy!

Within the walls of the university everything remained solid and proper, as calm and seemingly safe as before. Here, however, on the stage, in a kind of ecstasy, Wagner was prophesying a global fire, the death of gods and heroes, the vanity and doom of all individualism, based on the incredible enhancement of isolated persons, and the only solution to this global dead end: the rejection of all isolated existence and of all individualistic transports.

In order to build their Valhalla in the sky, Wagner's gods and heroes had to steal the gold hidden for eternity in the depths of the Rhine. For the sake of their self-assertion the noble heroes had to make use of this gold through force, passing it from hand to hand, everywhere resulting in quarrels, assassinations and the triumph of death over life. All that heroic power which had brought the world to the brink of catastrophe, in the final account, was reduced to the need to return the gold back to the depths of the Rhine, to refrain from interfering with the natural and chaste life of nature and to vanish for the sake of the triumph of universal life. Wotan, the main hero of the tetralogy, is perfectly aware of all this from the very beginning. It is his dark and dedicated wisdom that, in the final account, is transmitted to all gods and heroes who tragically die, clearly aware of their doom and the sterility of their heroism, depicted by Wagner in the rich colors of the joys of victory, the orgiastic powers of love and self-sacrifice, the frenzied unraveling of the secrets of the world and the triumphant concealment in the latter of the secrets of nature and life.

As I had some training in music, I listened to "The Ring" several times while holding the score and noting on its margins everything I considered valuable and important. Here is the conclusion I then reached as a result of my philosophical-musical enthusiasms: The great composer-philosopher was prophesying the death of European bourgeois culture. The culture which we had been taught to revere since childhood was doomed, its days were numbered and soon something horrible and irreparable was to take place....

Now, 68 years after I first listened to Wagner's revelations, I realize that both Wagner and his admirers were aware of the doom of a world built on gold, on capital. However, whereas the West presented Wagner as its ecstatic prophet, Russia answered his work with an equally revolutionary thinking composer, Skryabin. His "Poem of Ecstasy" and "Prometheus" ("Poem of Fire") were a premonition of the revolution, in whose global fire the new society is triumphantly born.

Having realized this, I immediately saw in a different light everything which had previously seemed to me to be only literature or only philosophy. I realized that the old world was being criticized and doomed to death not only by activists from the left but by many critics from the right.

I had barely plunged into Wagner when the world war broke out. It filled Europe with all the horrors of bloodshed. It was followed by the Great October, which proclaimed not only the real catastrophe of the old world but previously unknown solutions to it.

In the university halls the type of criticism which developed mystical ecstasy and prophecies or fell into hysterics was replaced by ideas which scientifically

substantiated the change of epochs. By this I mean the works of the founders of the theory of scientific communism. What the critics from the right described as convulsions and spasms was formulated in Marxism-Leninism as precise and clear laws of socioeconomic development, for which reason Marxism-Leninism could become the base of the new and no longer individualistic age.

When I read today the works of many contemporary bourgeois authors, including those I have named, I unwittingly catch myself thinking: all of this is the past, with the exception of new literary or terminological solutions, all of these "catastrophic" problems have been profoundly experienced by the numerous and varied members of different cultural spheres, philosophy, art, literature, literary expertise and historiography.

Today's bourgeois and semi-educated petit bourgeois who play with extravagant innovations and stupefying concepts deliberately ignore historical experience, particularly that which has already been profoundly experienced by philosophy, what has been interpreted by Marxism-Leninism and what yields live offshoots not only at home but in the West.

That is why we see not only the withering away of bourgeois culture and its philosophy but also a certain restoration (naturally, on a qualitatively new basis) of the great democratic traditions as a consequence of aggravated social antagonisms. However, a real methodological solution is possible only on the basis of a harmony between thought and objective laws, for "logic is a theory not of external forms of thinking but of the laws of development "of all material, natural and spiritual objects," i.e., the development of the entire specific content of the world and its study, i.e., the result, the sum, the conclusion of the history of knowledge of the world" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 29, p 84). A proper understanding of everything occurring in today's philosophical world is possible only with a suitable understanding of the historical fate of philosophy.

At the same time, the Soviet philosopher must be familiar with the current works produced by bourgeois authors, even if such authors claim, as does Arthur Hubscher, that "philosophy, strictly speaking, is already dead." One must pay attention to all the zigzags in foreign thinking and see behind them the history and the society which have triggered such "zigzags," remembering the axiom of our methodology: "...Real history is the base, the being followed by consciousness" (V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 29, p 237).

As far as many foreign theoreticians are concerned, who are unable to see the socio-historical basis for the breakdown of contemporary bourgeois philosophy and who fail to understand the future and trends of development of creative thinking but are only aware of its inability to extract itself from the tangle of irreconcilable contradictions, in their place it would be simply impossible not to be pessimistic.

Therefore, the proper knowledge of the history of philosophy protects us from superficial assessments, errors or delusions. However, in order for all such dialectical conclusions to acquire their final formulation, two other circumstances must be determined: the first is historical-theoretical and the second is historical-artistic. In order for the history of philosophy to be a school of thought we must master historical-philosophical material sensitively and flexibly. In order to understand the hopelessness of contemporary Western culture (without this no school of thought would be sufficient), some of the great artistic accomplishments of the last century must be studied philosophically.

Idealism has assumed an infinite variety of forms in the course of its history, either bringing it closer to materialism or separating it from it. There are endless transitions between idealism and materialism, infinite in their quality and quantity of links and endless shades of meaning. Hegel, for example, is an idealist and even a pillar of idealism. Nevertheless, we know quite well that many of his views took him closer to materialism. In his "Philosophical Notebooks" Lenin as well either points out that Hegel displays "archvulgar idealistic nonsense," or else notes on the margin, "witty and clever!" or "Bien dit!!!" ("well said!!!"--the author), or "good comparison (materialistic)," and, finally, writes that "intelligent idealism is closer to intelligent materialism than to stupid materialism," meaning by the former a dialectical materialism and by the latter a "metaphysical, underdeveloped, dead, coarse, static" materialism ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 29, pp 283, 281, 276, 90, 248).

Kant was also an undisputable idealist. However, his theory of "the thing in itself" includes a materialistic element, for he claims that objects exist outside and independently of the human mind. In Kant idealism is manifested in his theory of the noncognitive nature of "the thing in itself," since agnosticism is an actual variety of metaphysical idealism. However, the theory of "the thing in itself" is itself materialistic. True, in Kant it is poorly consistent with his subjectivistic philosophy. Therefore, idealism and materialism may become interwoven even within one and the same philosopher and even within a single one of his sentences. The great art of the philosophical historian and a very fine weapon of historical analysis is to be able to distinguish between idealism and materialism in their essential incompatibility and actual intertwining.

Thus, it is impossible to imagine contemporary scientific thinking without the finest possible development of the concept of structure. For example, in the theory of isomers a variety of substances are obtained from the same elements, but only if combined in different sequences. Unquestionably, the structural analysis of any type of objects is necessary providing that the formal aspect is not separated from the meaningful one, and providing that the strictly quantitative approach does not begin to dominate qualitative characteristics. The inadequate philosophical culture of many linguists brought about the unjustified mathematization of the object of their research. As was to be expected, this line proved to be underproductive to the philologists. In a number of journal articles and, particularly, in my book on language models, I have discussed in detail the uncritical use of the term "structure" in modern linguistics and modern logic. I have frequently had the occasion to draw the attention of my colleagues to the fact that the term "structure," is so uncritically used by structuralist idol worshippers, may be used in 14 different senses and regardless of the tremendous importance of the corresponding concept, modern structuralist exaggeration should be discarded and forgotten.

However, the methodology of formal structuralism endures in the minds of many scientists. This is due to the influence of neopositivism, which tries to eliminate philosophy from all traditional problems (even from the theory of essences) and reduce it to a logically constructed nonsubstance in a totally nonhuman space, juggling with formulas hostile to the science which deals with the most general laws of nature, society and thinking. In my view, this trend represents the suppression of any field of knowledge.

Let us point out that the tragedy of neopositivism lies not in the acknowledgment of logical formalism, but that other than logistics it acknowledges nothing else when it comes to scientific thinking. In this case both object and subject are rejected and the very problem of subject-object relations is proclaimed imaginary and false. Talented minds begin to feel that they are not only outside of society and history but even, in general, outside any kind of time and space. The only way to describe this is as being philosophical suicide.

One looks at such "philosophers" and has the impression that each and every one of them is mainly keen on creating some kind of unparalleled sensation, striking others with his originality and innovativeness and proving his uniqueness and irreplaceability and amazing others with some kind of affections and whims....I do not belittle their possible honesty and their aspiration to seek the truth freely, independently and with full sincerity. However, when I see the way they try to outstrip one another in the "refinement" of their thinking, pit themselves against the entire positive experience acquired by philosophy and, sometimes, also deliberately ignore it, unwittingly I develop the impression of publicity, which is so incompatible with true science.

Therefore, historical-philosophical analysis imperatively leads us to the conclusion that neopositivism is idealism but is not in the least the type of intelligent idealism which Lenin preferred to poor materialism.

The overall impression created by contemporary bourgeois philosophy may be compared to what I feel when I listen to a primitive vocal-instrumental ensemble, whose pseudomusic and performance are based on very intense, almost racing rhythms, which also carry a certain loose melody in which everything which is a durable spiritual value to the people is nihilistically melted, while the spasmodic and sharp syncopation, together with some painful and violent shooting glissandos, turns everything into something immoral--illogical and destructive. Such is also the nature of the philosophy alien to us--sated and artificially gay, sometimes plunging into despair, acknowledging nothing sacred. Historically, it ends together with the historically doomed class, hurling itself as in a trance from one extreme to another and, in the final account, promising nothing other than decay and rejection. Its study is instructive only from the viewpoint of the consideration of the painful one-sidedness in the development of some areas of knowledge, in the way that it is useful to study pathological phenomena in the organism as well as the hypertrophy and atrophy of its organs, so that such a knowledge can protect us from possible diseases and deepen our scientific concepts.

The active study of the prime sources of classical philosophy, the comprehensive limitation of the scholastic method, which is saturated with repetitions of trivial views found in popular and, unfortunately, not always well-written textbooks, is a condition for upgrading the quality of philosophical training. A Marxist, profoundly thought-out history of philosophical views can actively serve our present vital needs.

The history of philosophy is a school of thinking without which no full philosophical culture which, in the final account, is the basis of all spiritual culture, can be achieved.

MONUMENTAL IMAGE OF THE MOTHERLAND

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 81 pp 67-74

[Article by Hero of Socialist Labor M. Anikushin, USSR people's painter and Lenin Prize laureate]

[Text] The permanent theme of Soviet monumental art, expressing its very essence, that of representing in classic ensembles, monuments, paintings, mosaics, stained glass and sculpture, furniture and buildings, summed up and ennobled by the thoughts of the artist about the homeland, the beauty and greatness of human accomplishments, the harmonious nature, the tragic and bitter losses and great victories on the road to social justice and happiness for mankind, is man the creator, fighter and thinker.

The Great October, which radically changed the course of history, inaugurated a new age in the development of art as well. History itself appeared in the shape of a brilliant sculptor creating from a superhard material unparalleled forms of social structure and of the spiritual mastery of the world. The artists, including sculptors, faced a most difficult yet most noble task: to match in their creative work the level of the revolutionary creativity of the working class led by the Leninist communist party.

The beneficial process of the exposure of ever new millions of working people to the treasures of world culture, taking place today, convincingly proves the viability of the program for cultural construction in our country, formulated by V. I. Lenin.

As conceived by Vladimir Il'ich, the purpose of monumental art is to attract the broad popular masses with expressive shapes which contain "the most durable basic principles and slogans of Marxism;...which give an assessment to one or another great historical event" (see A. Lunacharskiy, "Chelovek Novogo Mira" [The Person of the New World], Moscow, 1976, p 121).

In the initial months following the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin formulated a grandiose plan for monumental propaganda, which gave the main direction to the development of the young Soviet art. The plan was based on the principle of party-mindedness of proletarian literature and art. This meant that every progressive artist was to develop a clear position in the class struggle and place his creativity in the service of the revolution, the cause of the proletariat and the struggle for communism.

Lenin's plan for monumental propaganda called for erecting monuments to revolutionaries, fighters for the people's cause, outstanding philosophers, scientists and masters of culture and monuments embodying the ideas of liberated labor, the alliance between workers and peasants, proletarian internationalism and the freedom and happiness of the working people.

The inauguration of each monument became a noteworthy event in the classical and cultural life of the country. Vladimir Il'ich paid great attention to the implementation of the plan for monumental propaganda. He was exigent and strict toward those in charge of its implementation. He was interested in the needs of sculptors and painters. He frequently talked with them, visited exhibits of competitive designs, and spoke at solemn inaugurations and unveilings of monuments.

The main ideas and principles on which Lenin's plan for monumental propaganda was based remain equally topical today, although its basic initial tasks have been surpassed. Monuments and sculptures by V. Mukhina, I. Shader, N. Andreyev, A. Matveyev and S. Merkurov have become immortal classics of Soviet art. Imbued with the sensitive spirit of revolutionary creativity, optimism and admiration of the inner beauty of the Soviet man, they decorate city squares and are symbols of the constructive activity of our people.

The sculptural group "Worker and Kolkhoz Woman" by V. Mukhina, which crowned the Soviet pavilion at the Paris world exhibition, became a plastic hymn to victorious socialism, a symbol of the land of the soviets. It was with this sculpture that Soviet art entered the world arena and entered the sympathies of millions of people. It is our duty to continue this great tradition and to assert the communist ideals and bring to the viewer the truth of life through our creativity.

From the very first days of the Great Patriotic War Soviet art joined the military and the sculptors were in the front ranks. Here is an example:

On 10 August 1941, when the ring of the enemy blockade was already tightening around Leningrad, a creative collective was created, consisting of seven sculptors (N. Tomskiy, M. Baburin, V. Bogolyubov, R. Budilov, V. Isayev, A. Strekavin and B. Shalyutin). The huge bas reliefs they created, as many as 20 square meters in area, called to arms and to defending the city on the Neva.

The war lasted 1,418 days. It took 20 million lives, it entered every house and every family. Monuments to military glory stand in dozens of cities and thousands of villages as confirmations of the infinite respect which the Soviet people feel for the memory of the heroes who fell in the battles for the homeland. Grandiose monuments have been erected in Volgograd, the Moscow area, Leningrad Oblast, the Smolensk area, Belorussia, the Ukraine, the Baltic area, the Caucasus and the republics of central Asia.

Came the time for peaceful construction and art was faced with the task of depicting its scope, showing the beauty of creation for the good of man. Today as well, however, the epic of the Great Patriotic War continues to excite the artists. The celebration of the 30th anniversary of the victory over Fascism gave rise to memories, made us look back and interpret and assess our accomplishments. Monuments are being erected in villages, hamlets and cities where no battles were fought in honor of native sons who fought at the front. They may be modest obelisks or

monumental works. One of the most interesting monuments, completed quite recently, is the monument to the volunteer tank men in Chelyabinsk and the monument "Front and Rear" in Magnitogorsk.

Monuments have been and are being erected where the valorous defenders of the homeland shed their blood: at sites of most fierce battles, at decisive battlefields and at common graves. This includes the monument to the heroes of the battle for Stalingrad, the ensembles at the Piskarev Cemetery and the great belt of glory around Leningrad, the memorial ensemble "Heroic Defenders of Leningrad," the ensemble "Memorial in Salaspils" and the architectural-sculptural memorial complex to the victims of Fascism in Pirchyupis Village.

Extending the idea of the heroic in Soviet art, the topic of the Patriotic War remains one of the basic in the works of our sculptors. This was manifested particularly clearly in the design for the memorial to the defenders of Malaya Zemlya, built in Novorossiysk.

The monuments of Soviet sculptors stand abroad as well, on the territories of countries liberated by the Soviet Army, as an assertion of the humanistic ideals and internationalist nature of the policy of the socialist state. This applies, above all, to the ensemble in Treptow Park and the monuments to General D. M. Karbyshev in Mauthausen.

In the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th party congress Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out that "as before, lofty revolutionary motifs are sounded in the creativity of our masters. The images of Marx, Engels and Lenin and of many fiery revolutionaries and the heroic history of the homeland inspire them to create new, interesting works in a great variety of artistic genres.

Leniniana remains to us an all-embracing topic. It is being ever more profoundly interpreted. It remains inexhaustible, as is the character of the great leader. That is why Lenin, the revolutionary, the philosopher, the person, is seen in a new light in each new monument created by M. Baburin, P. Bondarenko, G. Neroda and V. Topuridze.

The unveiling of a monument to Lenin created by N. Tomskiy, in the capital of the GDR, became an event of international significance. It represents the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, the victorious advance of communist ideas and the unbreakable unity of the socialist comity.

However, there is a topic in which the creative possibilities of sculptors-monument makers have not as yet been fully deployed. It is the topic of the life and work of our contemporaries--workers, kolkhoz members, scientists and cultural workers. Usually, it remains the privilege of painters. It must become the leading feature in monumental sculpture as well. We must depict the scale of the human personality. "Honor and glory to the Soviet man--the toiling man! He is the main, the priceless wealth of our society," the CC CPSU accountability report states. Everything created with his hands--new cities, electric power plants--and everything with which he lives and which occupies his thoughts, the artistic representation of all of this can and must become the most important task of our art and a continuation, under developed socialist conditions, of the historical ideas of Lenin's program for monumental propaganda.

Today, in the homeland, the sculptural portraits of twice heroes of socialist labor are being erected. We see in this a great humanistic meaning. Through the means of art the character of the new man is brought up, a person to whom socially useful labor has become a source of inspiration and joy and a powerful incentive for the revelation of the spiritual potential of the individual. The viewer does not want to see a protocol testimony of his contemporary. He would like to see real art, actively involved in molding the outlook of the Soviet person and of his moral convictions and spiritual culture.

It is important to emphasize the role of the plastic arts in the esthetic development of the environment as an arena of social activity. "It is unnecessary to explain," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "how important it is that everything surrounding us bear the mark of beauty and good taste."

We want to make the environment worthy of the social system on whose banner we read "everything for the sake of man and for the good of man." We must acknowledge, however, that we ourselves cannot as yet clearly imagine in full the possibilities which can be used for the introduction of art into the daily lives of the working people. Let us take the industrial enterprise as an example. Here compositions on the labor collectives, memorial plaques and memorial signs may be erected in honor of production front-rankers, pioneers and communist labor shopworkers. Plant territories are being improved and landscaping would be perfectly appropriate here. Small works may be placed in the premises of the party, trade union, Komsomol committee, the plant administration premises, shop red corners and preventive medicine establishments.

Extensive possibilities arise, based on the scope of the reconstruction and the development of new industrial areas. Settlements and cities along the BAM are growing. New industrial giants, mines and oilfields are appearing in all parts of the country.

The image of the Soviet countryside is changing. The current task now is to bring rural living conditions closer to urban. Ever more frequently villages are developing into agrocities. Such agrocities are a truly inexhaustible area for the application of the creative forces of graphic artists. Here again we face a number of unresolved problems. The kolkhozes and sovkhoses have the right independently to commission one or another work of sculpture. Frequently this plays into the hands of fast operating nonprofessionals, who flood the villages with illiterate objects which distort the taste. This is inadmissible. The tasks of monumental art are as significant in the countryside as in the towns. In a series of philosophical essays on folk esthetics, Vasiliy Belov reminds us, again and again, that in the traditions of popular life "beauty, as a comprehensive and inseparable part of life, was not considered as something exclusive." Indeed, art was born deep within the people's life and we, the artists, must do everything possible to allow it, once again, to find its comprehensive (but not commonplace!) status in the life of the Soviet people. Closer attention must be paid to the development of esthetic culture in rural areas. Works of art here must be strictly supervised by state and social organizations and the Union of Painters. This matter brooks no delay. Each piece of sculpture or monument must esthetically ennoble and make the city rayon, village corner or enterprise area cozy and attractive, comprehensively promoting the lofty communist ideals.

Art plays an irreplaceable role in the upbringing of the growing generation. Our children spend their lives in the spacious schoolyards, with plenty of sunshine, but still little art. Yet art, in its great variety of genres, is necessary. We have good examples of the location of works of sculpture in the open air in Kishinev, Riga, Tallin, Lithuania, Yerevan, Leningrad and elsewhere. The all-union exhibit "Sculpture and Flowers" held at the USSR Exhibits of the Achievements of the National Economy triggered a broad response and orders from various areas. Unfortunately, only an insignificant percentage of them can be satisfied. The Union of Painters willingly shares its works. However, we clearly realize that this does not resolve the problem at large. The local authorities must show a more active interest and provide a stronger financial base which would ensure the planned and systematic development of such activities.

More than in any other genre, purely professional matters in the field of sculpture are directly related to public interests. They are manifested in concern for the quality of our sculptural output, both ideological and artistic. Let us discuss this somewhat more extensively.

It is precisely the high exigency toward one's work and the sincere desire to serve loyally the interests of the party and the people that lead us to pose ourselves and the corresponding state organizations problems which must be radically resolved within the shortest possible time.

Selection of the material in which the plastic character is conceived and implemented is important. This choice is not dictated in the least by the whim of the artist or the customer. The material is of major esthetic importance. It becomes an organic part of the overall artistic conception.

In reality, quite frequently ornaments are made out of materials which simply happen to be convenient and available or else easier to procure at a given time. Concrete is the most readily available among them. However, sculptures made of concrete, frequently undertaken by nonspecialists, occasionally discredit the idea they are supposed to express, hopelessly defacing boulevards, schoolyards, highways, picturesque recreation sites or plant territories.

From all points of view it would be immeasurably better to make sculptures of durable materials. Unfortunately, our possibilities in the selection of the materials we need are exceptionally limited, although all republics have deposits of natural minerals. For example, Tajik sculptors say that they have sandstone, granite, limestone, marble and jasper, but procurement of such materials requires the opening of new quarries and increasing the output. Furthermore, the question of the preservation of valuable and unique deposits of granite and marble, occasionally used for other than the proper purpose or developed through technologically inefficient means, is becoming a vital problem. This is a problem of national importance, the more so since today various types of stone are being increasingly applied in architecture, making new buildings esthetically attractive and stylistically important.

The problem of the material is closely related to that of color which, given mass urban and rural construction, becomes very important. I am convinced that the monument maker, the artist, the architect, concerned with the artistic aspects of the city or village, must bring variety and somehow break down through color harmony the occasionally rather monotonous white-grey range. We must take a close look at

nature, with its rock, metal, tree and color decors, which are sometimes quite strong. We know that the ancient Egyptian masters painted their works. Frequently Greek sculptures were polychromatic as well. The sculptors of the Renaissance developed outstanding works in which color played a most important role, interacting with the shape and emphasizing it. All of this made great sense.

We can easily see at exhibits that sculptors doing paintings are beginning to pay increasing attention to colors. This is gratifying. We can transfer this experience to open-air sculptures which would be erected against the background of greenery, snow, sea and sky. How splendid it would be to use the entire expressiveness of bronze, steel, or black and grey granite and other various alloys! In that case every square and sculpture would have its unique coloring.

Let us also mention the problems of training and upbringing cadres of painters and sculptors who will create monuments. By bringing the molding of the talent of the young artist closer to the synthesis of art and urban construction problems, we are helping the future sculptor gain a clearer idea of the social meaning of his work and to realize its nationwide scope and significance. However, architecture students as well must make a deeper study of graphic art in order to use it more successfully in urban construction and architecture.

Naturally, we can and must discuss our needs, materials, production facilities and professional training. However, all of this makes sense only when we set the main requirements to ourselves, to our work. I remember how, thinking of the place of the creative individual in our time, Yekaterina Fedorovna Belashova used to say that no single individuality can define an entire epoch. That is precisely why we, the artists, must more frequently ask ourselves: Who are we, where are we coming from and where are we going, she went on to say. One must honestly see and be aware of one's toil in the process of global development and form within oneself the person without killing the artist.

Each work must be felt, each idea which develops in the heart of the artist must be lit by the force of his personal convictions. Art is not created merely from a feeling of duty. It appears from the inner need of the artist, from his love for the people and the country. Without this it cannot become contagious and convincing of its truthfulness. Each time has its specific truths, concepts, phenomena and ideas. However, they can be embodied in an artistic manner only when they are refracted through the lens of the artist's individuality.

Let us support more daringly and firmly works which contain realistic innovations and let us encourage creative searches, if they are conducted for the sake of achieving a vivid and graphic expression of a concept based on artistic truth, for art is not built on the repetition of regulations. However, there can be no high-level art without a profound understanding of and respect for tradition. We are in favor of innovation and we need an art which is not primitive and boringly familiar, using over and over again the same means. We need an art which deepens our attitude toward life and helps to convert our knowledge of life into convictions.

Monumental sculpture has many specific characteristics. We must remember, however, that sculpture is above all art and its essential principle is the study of life. Monumental characters arise from the study of reality, contact with its phenomena and mastery of the progressive ideas of the time. Therefore, we must study life more profoundly and penetrate more deeply into the spirit of the age.

The specific features of monuments are learned through comparisons, when the artist turns his thoughts or work to other forms and genres such as, for example, architecture. After many years of work exclusively on statuary, working indiscriminately, one sometimes no longer feels the freshness, the novelty and the charm of the language specific to the genre. It was no accident that great masters such as V. Mukhina liked to turn from monuments to small forms, such as ceramics and glass. This made it possible immediately to find the true scale and coordination between the object and the plastic means used. P. Trubetskoy, the acknowledged master of indoor sculptures, with their typical modeling style, had a perfect feel for the specific nature of a monumental statue. Art demands of us always to go beyond the frame of a narrow genre if we are to reach the entire beauty and variety of the world.

The cooperation between the sculptor and the architect is comprehensive. Architects participate in the elaboration of the architectural parts of the monument. The sculptor cooperates with them in decorating a building and in resolving common problems of the organization of the artistic environment of a big settlement. However, the responsibility for the graphic and ideological aspects of the organization of the environment should not fall on the sculptor alone. It is also totally unacceptable when the sculptor is considered as the "shaper" of completed architectural designs, who fills up empty spaces with monumental works. Such practices still exist. However, they are wrong and flexible yet active forms of cooperation must be developed.

The contemporary trend in architectural progress has considerably increased the opportunities of sculpture, painting and other types of graphic art for interacting with architecture. The architectural image has a tremendous ideological and esthetic power to influence and to excite man and to shape his mood. The architect does this through his own specific means. The synthesis of the arts opens new opportunities which must be fully used.

Everything in monumental art must be clear and stately. The view that this is the art of huge dimensions is wrong. No, it is monumental above all because of its ideas and characters. The endless multiplication of sculptural forms for the sake of the impressiveness of their scale is misleading. The automatic increase of the size of a sculpture, competing with a 20-story house, will not result in a greater monumentality of the artistic image. On the contrary, such shallow methods trigger a feeling of coarseness, of unpleasant gigantism which suppresses the feelings of the viewer and distorts the humanism of our art.

It is sad when the artist takes the false path of pseudomonumentality by excessively raising the height of a monument, falling into gigantomania which ignores the harmony between the work and the surrounding landscape and man who becomes "lost" among these suppressive huge forms deprived of depth and precision of the image. In my view, the monument to the Panfilov Division heroes, erected at the legendary Dubosekovo Station is justifiably controversial. In my opinion, the obelisk in honor of granting Moscow the title of "city-hero," erected on Kutuzovskiy Prospekt, in the capital, is short of depth and clarity of image. Unfortunately, examples of artistically poor monumental solutions are not isolated. Fedor Abramov was right when he said from the rostrum of the recently held Seventh Congress of USSR Writers: "Frankly, I would very much like to see the homeland, which is recorded in numerous memorials, assume more earthly, more human and, if you wish, even more national

features, the features of the Russian mother, the features of the Ukrainian, the Belorussian, the Georgian, the Kazakh mother....Please understand me properly: I do not object in the least to monumentality in monumental sculpture. I merely oppose monotony, I oppose false, meaningless monumentalism." We must never forget that our work must be checked against the high standards of communist morality and be imbued with respect for man. This is manifested in matters of synthesizing monumental art with urban construction at all creative planning and implementation stages. This has another aspect as well: in blending architecture with art, essentially sculptors and architects develop a new kind of art in which equal and joint creativity is more important than simple participation in someone else's work. The work of the sculptor and the architect on the future monument must begin at the very beginning of its design. Good examples of such joint creativity are found in the Lenin memorial complex in Ul'yanovsk, the museum of combat Komsomol glory imeni A. M. Matrosov, the state museum of the history of cosmonautics imeni K. E. Tsiolkovskiy in Kaluga and the theater building in Vologda. That is precisely the joint creativity we wish to achieve, working hand in hand and in total reciprocal understanding. For every one of us knows that if something is done quickly but poorly, soon everyone will forget the fact that it was done quickly but will remember the poor result only. Conversely, it will be forgotten that the work was slow but remembered that the product is excellent. We need long-term architectural-planning designs which will enable us as of now to know what monuments will be erected 5 to 10 years from now, and so that work on them may begin today; in such a case, I am confident that at the proper time mature, ideologically profound and plastically perfect works will appear. We cannot fail to be alarmed by the circumstance that exceptionally little time is allocated for the creation of monuments although serious monumental work requires years.

A number of governmental decrees on the erection of monuments are being ignored for a variety of reasons and, frequently, simply because of bureaucratic forgetfulness. There are no monuments to Spartacus, Marat, Garibaldi, Pestel', Ryleyev, Zhelyabov and many other revolutionaries, philosophers and masters of culture, whose names may be found in the decree signed by Lenin. To this day we have not commemorated the artists and architects whose names were included in this list on Vladimir Il'ich's instructions. They include Andrey Rublev, Kiprenskiy, Aleksandr Ivanov, Vrubel', Shubin, Kozlovskiy and Kazakov. The many foundations on boulevards and city squares are pangs of our civic and artistic conscience.

All this proves that monument design competitions and their results must be open and controlled by the artistic public. It would be useful to publish collections of documents on major competitions, for otherwise material valuable in terms of creative practical experience is filed in archives and fails to become a topic of broad public attention and scientific summation. Wrong projects should be discussed as well. Conducted among professional circles, this would enable both the author and his colleagues to find the truth better. This applies to the artistic councils of the Union of Painters as well.

Every Soviet person, wherever he may live, feels that he has a little bit of Moscow in him, for we check our thoughts and actions against the active, the constructive life of Moscow, the capital of our homeland, which illuminates the entire world as the beacon of communist ideals. All painters consider as their own the task of turning Moscow into a model communist city. The USSR Union of Painters has submitted to the Moscow Main Architectural-Planning Administration a number of sculptures which

were shown at the all-union "Sculpture and Flowers" exhibit. They will be placed in the squares and gardens of Bul'varnyy Ring. The best works of the artists of all-union and autonomous republics will soon be exhibited in the new State Art Gallery.

The art of the Soviet artist-monumentalist is lofty and civic. The sculptor, who faces today's and future generations, must perpetuate the great accomplishments of the people, their great history and their heroic actions today. Under the chisel of the sculptor the ideals of the building of communism and the immortal ideas of the October Revolution assume a visible and deep artistic nature, touching the hearts of thousands and thousands of people and inspiring them to dedicated service to the homeland. The hymn of beauty and greatness of the Soviet person, created by Soviet monument sculptors, is a contribution to our common party cause--raising the member of the new, communist society.

5003

CSO: 1802/18

DIMITUR BLAGOEV AND REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 81 pp 75-83

[On the occasion of D. Blagoev's 125th birthday]

[Text] Dimitur Blagoev, the most noted leader of the Bulgarian and international workers movements and the founder of the Bulgarian Communist Party, maintained close ties with revolutionary Russia in the course of his life and activities.

D. Blagoev was born on 14 June 1856. After the liberation of Bulgaria from the Turkish yoke, he went to Russia where he attended the science secondary school in Odessa, followed by the high school in Petersburg, after which he enrolled in Petersburg University. Here, while still a student, D. Blagoev developed as a revolutionary and a convinced Marxist as a result of his profound study of the works of K. Marx and F. Engels and of other socialist literature. In 1883 he organized one of the first social democratic groups in Russia, known to history as the Blagoev group, which disseminated Marxism not only among the Petersburg student body but in workers circles as well. At the beginning of 1885 the Blagoev group, which had developed contacts with Plekhanov's Liberation of Labor group in Geneva, undertook the publication of the newspaper RABOCHIY. D. Blagoev published two articles in its first issue: "What Are the Working People Lacking?" and "What Are the Working People Trying to Get?" (see paper No 1). In noting the significance of this newspaper in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement, V. I. Lenin wrote: "In 12 years, from 1883 to 1895, the publication in Petersburg of RABOCHIY, the social democratic newspaper, in 1885 was essentially the only attempt to create a working social democratic press in Russia...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 25, pp 95-96.

Even prior to the publication of the second (and final) issue of the newspaper, in March 1885, D. Blagoev was arrested and expelled from Russia. Back in Bulgaria, he continued his revolutionary Marxist activities. Direct and active participation in the Russian workers movement played a major role in the further development of D. Blagoev's ideological and theoretical views. "Blagoev," V. Kolarov writes, "took interest in and love for the Russian revolutionary movement an intrinsic part of Bulgarian socialism."

The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party was founded under D. Blagoev's guidance in 1891. Subsequently as a result of its merger with the Bulgarian Social Democratic Alliance, it took the name of Bulgarian Workers Social Democratic Party. Its revolutionary Marxist wing, headed by D. Blagoev, engaged in a stubborn fight against the opportunists, which ended with the ideological defeat of both and the

development (in 1903) of this wing into a separate revolutionary Marxist party--the Bulgarian Workers Social Democratic Party (left-wing socialists) (BRSDP(t.s.)).

The first Russian revolution of 1905-1907 was of great importance to the further development and strengthening of relations between the Bulgarian and Russian proletarian movements and between the BRSDP(t.s.) and the RSDWP. The Bulgarian workers and their vanguard, the left-wing socialist party, followed the struggle of the Russian workers with tremendous interest and sympathy. This is confirmed by the greetings presented by the 12th BRSDP(t.s.) to the Russian proletariat and the RSDWP (see paper 3). It was written and signed by D. Blagoev. The left-wing socialists, headed by D. Blagoev, were among the most consistent and decisive fighters against opportunism and social chauvinism on the eve of and during World War I. Lenin considered the left-wing socialists "internationalists in fact" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 31, p 174).

D. Blagoev untiringly followed the development of revolutionary events in Russia with the greatest possible interest. When the news of the victorious armed uprising in Petrograd reached the Balkans, crossing the frontlines of the World War, it was welcomed by D. Blagoev and all left-wing socialists with enthusiasm and hope of peace and liberation. A meeting attended by 10,000 people was held in Sofia on 2 December 1917. Following the speeches by D. Blagoev, Khr. Kabakchiev and G. Dimitrov, the participants unanimously passed a resolution of greetings to the victorious Russian proletariat (see paper 5). D. Blagoev informed Soviet Russia of this meeting and the greetings through Stockholm (at that time Bulgaria was in a state of war with Russia).

The October Revolution had a tremendous impact on the development of D. Blagoev's ideological-theoretical views. He made a profound study of Lenin's works and mastered the practice of bolshevism. Under his guidance the BRSDP(t.s.) largely abandoned the old social democratic views and passed under the banner of Leninism. It was renamed Bulgarian Communist Party (left-wing socialists) in 1919.

In the most difficult period of the Civil War and of postwar dislocation in Soviet Russia, D. Blagoev was always on the side of the young land of the soviets. He repeatedly proved this through his actions. The election of D. Blagoev as honorary member of the Petrograd Soviet was proof of the great respect shown for the Bulgarian revolutionary and an expression of solidarity with the Bulgarian Communist Party. The election was held in November 1922 in the presence of delegates attending the Fourth Comintern Congress, including Bulgarian communists.

Dimitar Blagoev died on 7 May 1924. The 13th RKP(b)C Congress sent the BCP a message on the occasion of the death of its founder and leader (see paper 10). It shows high appreciation of the role and significance of D. Blagoev to the Russian and international workers movements and expresses confidence in the triumph of its ideals on Bulgarian soil.

The documents published here were prepared by candidates of historical sciences L. I. Zharov and Yu. V. Sokolov.

From D. Blagoev's Article "What Are the Working People Trying to Get?"

Any government which does not consist of elected representatives of the people is a government hostile to the people. For the workers to hope for voluntary concessions on the part of such a government means to deceive themselves and to worsen their misfortune.

In our country, because of its ignorance and hopeless situation, the people put their entire hope in the monarchy and lived with it for centuries. This has been one of their saddest delusions. In our country, the power of the monarchy has always sided with the rich boyars and the nobility. Our government has never been a defender of the interests of the working people....

If today the best segment of the workers can rally and organize the discontented masses, woe to the government of Alexander III! We must always bear in mind that power alone will force a government hostile to the interests of the working people to surrender an undeserved position. We must bear in mind that it is only a government consisting of the freely-elected representatives of the entire people that can act in the interest of the working class. Until the working people take the power away from the current government and give it to the hands of the true defenders of the people's interests they will be hoping in vain for any improvement in their hopeless situation.

RABOCHIY,¹ January 1885

From D. Blagoev's Recollections on the Activities of the Social Democratic Group in Petersburg²

....The actions of our social democratic group were in a way the continuation of the socialist activities conducted among the workers in the period of the 1870s. However, they introduced something entirely new in it. This applied, above all, to its new name--the social democratic group--which indicated that revolutionary activities in Russia had a new meaning. The most important innovation which the social democratic group introduced, however, was to substantiate socialism and relate its propaganda to the development of capitalism in Russia....

Despite the fact that the success of the group among the students was extremely important in terms of the further expansion of its activities, nevertheless, the members of the group did not forget that the working class remained the main subject of their propaganda. They focused their efforts on it and it was among the working class that in the course of 1884, while I was still there, that they were able to organize quite extensive propaganda and agitation....

The success which our group achieved among the workers encouraged us greatly. Naturally, the idea arose of expanding our work further and of giving an impetus to socialist propaganda and agitation among the workers and to the establishment of workers organizations not only in Petersburg but throughout Russia. This, however,

it seemed to us, could be achieved only with the help of our own workers press, a workers newspaper. In turn, this was possible only if we had a clandestine printing press. On the other hand, as it intended to set up its own printed organ, the group deemed it necessary to formulate its own social democratic propaganda, which could rally initially all socialists who agreed with the views and activities of the Petersburg social democratic group. Guided by these considerations, the group decided to publish its organ--the newspaper RABOCHIY--the moment its printing could be organized, and to develop the program later, at the next session, and print it with a duplicating machine....

The first issue of RABOCHIY came out at the end of January or the beginning of February 1885. One could imagine the enthusiasm with which it was welcomed by worker and student groups! Generally speaking, its publication became an entire event in Petersburg revolutionary circles. A social democratic newspaper, RABOCHIY, printed on our own press was to many something unexpected, something entirely new. The workers spoke of the newspaper with pride, asked to make their contribution and offered their services for its distribution. To the best of my recollection, with the exception of a small quantity which was to be sent to the provinces, 1,000 copies were quickly sold out among worker and student groups.

Imagine, now, what a surprise the publication of RABOCHIY was to the police! Several days after the publication of the first issue, the police madly began looking for the newspaper, above all among the workers. There were tireless searches at factories and workers premises, threats and even detentions lasting several days. All was in vain, however, and the police were unable to discover anything. The enthusiasm with which the newspaper was welcomed, above all in workers circles, and the support given it by the workers proved that its birth marked the beginning of a new stage in revolutionary activities.

D. Blagoev "Moi Vospominaniya" [My Memoirs]. Moscow-Leningrad, 1928; "Kratkiye Zapiski o Moyey Zhizni" [Brief Notes on My Life]. Politizdat, Moscow, 1981, pp 67, 71, 74, 79-80 (references based on the latest edition).

3

Greetings by the 12th BRSDP(t.s.) Congress³ to the Russian Proletariat and the RSDWP

The 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Workers Social Democratic Party sends its warmest greetings to the struggling Russian proletariat and the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party, which is leading it, in their struggle against the bloodstained regime of Russian absolutism. The congress joins the warm wishes expressed by the international social democratic movement and its wishes for the imminent victory of the Russian proletariat over absolutism, and bows in reverence to the sacred victims of the struggle for its own liberation and for the liberation of the international proletariat from the bulwark of international reaction. Long live the Russian revolution! Long live the Russian social democrats! Death to absolutism!

On behalf of the presidium of the congress, D. Blagoev, chairman.

Bulgarian Communist Party. Documents of the central leading organs, 1903-1905. Vol 3. Partizdat, Sofia, 1976, p 430. Translated from the Bulgarian.

From the Greetings of the BRSDP(t.s.) Central Committee, the Committee of the General (Workers) Trade Union and the Parliamentary Group of the BRSDP(t.s.) to the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies on the Occasion of the Victory of the February Revolution in Russia

The Bulgarian socialist proletariat reads with enthusiasm and inspiration of the struggle waged by the Russian proletariat for freedom and sends it its warmest fraternal congratulations, and wishes it total victory in the revolution, the creation of a Russian Federal Democratic Republic and the restoration of international peace. The workers in the Balkans hope that the European proletariat will fulfill its duty by supporting the Russian revolutionary proletariat & expanding its cause....

Long live the Russian revolution!

Long live international solidarity of the proletariat!

For the party's central committee, the trade union and the parliamentary group,
D. Blagoev.

RABOTNICHESKI VESTNIK, 24 April 1917. Translated from the Bulgarian.

From the Resolution Adopted at a Meeting of Workers in Sofia, Summoned by the BRSDP(t.s.) Central Committee in Support of the October Socialist Revolution

The Russian Revolution and Peace

After hearing the speeches by social democratic party deputies in the National Assembly D. Blagoev, Khr. Kabakchiev and G. Dimitrov on the Russian revolution and peace, the meeting of Soviet workers, organized by the Workers Social Democratic Party at the People's Club⁴ attended by 10,000 people on 2 December 1917, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

The workers revolution has won in Russia. Today Russia is headed by a socialist workers government. To the international proletariat this victory has become a signal for waging a decisive struggle for the overthrow of capitalist governments and the seizure of political power. Convinced that it expresses the will of the proletariat and of the tremendous, the overwhelming majority of the Bulgarian people, the meeting sends its warmest fraternal greetings to the Russian proletariat, declaring that it considers the cause of the Russian proletariat its own and is ready to apply all its forces for its total triumph.

The meeting welcomed with enthusiasm the suggestion of concluding an armistice and peace, formulated by the Russian revolutionary socialist government. The broad masses of the workers and the people warmly wish for an immediate armistice and the making of peace. The meeting demands of the Bulgarian government to adopt the Russian suggestion, order the immediate cease-fire on all fronts and initiate talks on general peace without annexations and reparations, based on the right of nations to self-determination.

Talks on peace must be held openly, in the view of the entire people. The meeting demands of the parliament, fully in accordance with the Russian suggestions, to formulate the conditions under which Bulgaria would conclude a peace and would undertake the conduct of peace talks. The meeting calls for the restoration of the constitution, the lifting of the martial state and of censorship,⁵ and granting the Bulgarian people total freedom and the right to express their opinions on the conditions for a peace and for the conduct of peace talks which should take place under their direct control....

Long live the Russian workers revolution!

Long live the international class antiwar struggle!

Long live the international solidarity of the proletariat!

Long live socialist peace!

Central Party Archives of the BCP Central Committee, Archive 18, List I, unit 103, sheet I. Printed copy, translated from the Bulgarian.

6

PRAVDA Report on Support Given by the Bulgarian Workers to the Russian Proletariat in the Struggle for Peace

Stockholm, 24 November. Blagoev cables that on 2 December (Old Style), 10,000 workers in Sofia greeted the Russian revolutionary proletariat on behalf of the Bulgarian proletariat and called for immediate armistice on all fronts, (for which reason) they will support the struggle for peace with all their strength.

PRAVDA, 11 December 1917 (28 November Old Style).

7

From a Report in RABOTNICHESKI VESTNIK on a Meeting of Veterans of the First Russian Revolution with Representatives of the BCP(t.s.) in Moscow⁶

...The chairman announced the presence of representatives of a small but essentially the best organized communist party--the BCP. He then...reminded that the founder of this party was one of the oldest Marxists in Europe, Comrade Blagoev, who was also one of the first educators of the Russian workers and of those who fought for their liberation. He stated that as early as the 1880s Comrade Blagoev founded in Russia the first workers newspaper and circle, known in the history of the revolutionary movement as "the Blagoevites."

Comrade Kolarov answered the chairman. After recalling the first years of Comrade Blagoev's revolutionary activities, spent in Moscow working among the Petrograd workers, he spoke briefly on his role as founder of the Bulgarian Communist Party. He ended his speech as follows: "Comrade Blagoev was able to instill in the Bulgarian Communist Party, which has always loyally served the cause of the revolution, never betrayed the proletariat and is today firmly defending the interests of the

international revolution in the Balkans, deep faith in the triumph of the proletarian revolution and inflexible firmness in revolutionary work, which he acquired in Russia." Comrade Kolarov's words were followed by a tempestuous ovation and the meeting unanimously resolved to send a congratulatory telegram to Comrade Blagoev in Bulgaria. This was the most exciting moment of the meeting.

RABOTNICHESKI VESTNIK, 13 April 1922. Translated from the Bulgarian.

8

Letter to V. I. Lenin from the Representative of the BCP(t.s.) to the Executive Committee of the Communist International, Carrying D. Blagoev's Greetings and Wishes

Moscow, 15 May 1922

Dear Comrade Lenin!

I have just arrived from Bulgaria. As permanent representative of the Bulgarian Communist Party (left-wing socialists) to the Comintern Executive Committee, I bring to you the comradely greetings of our party and special greetings from our dear "grandfather" Dimitur Blagoev. Unfortunately since it would be very difficult to meet with you in person to deliver the message, I have taken it upon myself to deliver it in writing.

As I was leaving for Moscow, our "grandfather" asked me to say the following: "Thousands of greetings to Comrade Lenin. Tell him to keep the banner of the revolution high as he has done so far. Congratulate him for his daring and for his flexible and fully justified revolutionary tactics. The cause is doing well and will reach its ideal."

In turn, as I fulfill the wish of our "grandfather" and teacher D. Blagoev, I greet the leader of the world revolution on behalf of the entire Bulgarian Communist Party.

With communist greetings,

Yur. Yurdanov,⁸ member of the Comintern Executive Committee, representative of the Bulgarian Communist Party

"Pod Znamenem Oktyabrya" [Under the October Banner]. Collection of Documents and Materials, Vol II. Moscow-Sofia, 1981, pp 247-248.

9

Letter from D. Blagoev to the Presidium of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers, Peasants' and Red Army Deputies, Thanking It for Electing Him Honorary Deputy to the Soviet

Sofia, 21 January 1923

I received the certificate you sent me confirming that I was elected honorary member of the Petrograd Soviet.⁹ In reporting this to you, I deem it my pleasant duty to thank the comrade workers of Petrograd as well as yourselves for your consideration

and I use this occasion to express to you, for your comrades, the feelings which have excited me from the very beginning of the Great October Revolution. The reason that I have not expressed this so far has been my permanent ill health. Furthermore, I could find no suitable opportunity to do so, an opportunity which you have now given me....

Naturally, I welcomed the October Revolution of 1917 with great happiness and admiration for the comrades who defended the great Russian proletarian revolution. The Russian Communist Party (bolsheviks) was the only one among the big socialist parties in the world to remain loyal to the great principles of the revolutionary socialism of Marx and Engels.

For 25 years the Second International or, more specifically, its leaders repeated these principles to the proletariat. Only one year before the outbreak of the imperialist war they were all swearing in Basel¹⁰ to do everything possible to prevent the outbreak of this war or, should it break out, to use all possible means to overthrow capitalism and help the workers seize the political powers so that they may build socialism.

In 1914, however, almost all of them betrayed their oaths, the interests of the proletariat and the revolution. When the October Revolution took place in Russia, all of them opposed this great social revolution. A person must be a malicious traitor to the revolution and the interests of the proletariat to oppose a revolution such as the one in Russia.

How can one address the proletariat for 20 years on the need to seize the political power, overthrow capitalism and build socialism, and when such a revolution has been brilliantly made, to oppose that same proletarian revolution! Only traitors and criminals are capable of doing this.

It is very sad that workers were found who yielded to the lies and misleading actions of the traitors. It would be even sadder, however, to find today in Russia workers who would follow the traitors and turncoats. I am convinced, however, that these workers will scornfully abandon the traitors and will gradually find their place in the ranks of their own cause--the proletarian revolution.

Warm greetings to all comrades and my respect to the graves of those who fell in defense of the revolution and of Soviet Russia, and scorn for all the traitors to the proletarian revolution.

In conclusion, I send you personally, comrades, my warm greetings and wish you fruitful work for the good of the proletariat of red Petrograd, the proletarian revolution in general and the good of the RSFSR.

Loyally yours, D. Blagoev

Dimitur Blagoev, "Such." [Works], Vol 19, pp 317-320. Translated from the Bulgarian.

The 13th RKP Congress presents to the fraternal Bulgarian Communist Party its warm condolences on the occasion of Comrade Blagoev's death. Dimitur Blagoev was not only the founder of the Bulgarian Communist Party but one of the first leaders of the revolutionary movement in your country. In the course of decades of hard struggle, Blagoev firmly carried the banner of the proletarian revolution. Blagoev's actions will not perish. The working class of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will honor Blagoev's memory as that of one of the most outstanding leaders of the international revolutionary workers movement. The RKP is following most closely the heroic struggle of the Bulgarian workers and peasants and firmly believes that the victory of the Bulgarian Communist Party is not far away. May Dimitur Blagoev be remembered forever! Long live the Bulgarian Communist Party!

PRAVDA, 24 May 1924

NOTES

1. RABOCHIY, the first Russian social democratic newspaper, was published clandestinely by D. Blagoev's group in Petersburg. Two issues came out (January and July 1885) in 200 to 300 copies. The newspaper was distributed in Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Khar'kov, Odessa, Kazan', Samara and other cities. Issue No 2 carried an article by G. V. Plekhanov entitled "The Current Tasks of the Russian Workers (Letter to the workers circles in Petersburg)."

2. The Petersburg social democratic group (D. Blagoev's group) was one of the first to undertake the spreading of Marxism in Russia. It was founded by D. Blagoev in December 1883. It numbered as many as 30 active members, including P. A. Latyshev, V. G. Kharitonov, N. P. Andreyev, A. A. Gerasimov, V. A. Kugushev and others, most of them students at Petersburg University, the Technological Institute and other educational establishments. In 1884 the group took the name of "Russian Social Democratic Party." In the first draft of its program (1884) a number of theoretical views were based on positions close to Marxism. The second draft of its program was written by Plekhanov and with his "Liberation of Labor" group with whom the Blagoevites established contacts. This draft which both groups shared was positively rated by Lenin (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 4, p 216; Vol 16, p 232). The D. Blagoev group organized about 15 workers circles at Petersburg plants and factories. It disseminated among the workers the works of Marx, Engels and Plekhanov. It issued proclamations, set up libraries for workers circles and so on. In March 1887 the group was broken up by the police. The group's activities contributed to the growth of the ranks of the Russian social democrats.

3. The 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Workers Social Democratic Party (left-wing socialists), which was held in August 1905, considered the report submitted by the BRSDP(t.s.) Central Committee on party activities in 1904-1905 and sent greetings to the Russian proletariat and the RSDWP on the occasion of the revolution in Russia. The greetings were drafted by D. Blagoev.

4. The people's club was the building of the BRSDP(t.s.) Central Committee and the General Workers Trade Union Committee. It was built in Sofia with funds contributed by the working people. It was seized by government troops after the defeat of the September 1923 antifascist uprising.

5. During World War I the Bulgarian government introduced censorship which became particularly strict after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Martial law and censorship were retained even after Bulgaria withdrew from the war. The BRSDP(t.s.) waged a decisive struggle for their abolishment and for the restoration of constitutional freedoms.

6. Representatives of the BCP and of the General Workers Trade Union came to Moscow to participate in the work of the expanded plenum of the Comintern Executive Committee and the Trade Union International. On 14 February 1922 the Krasnopresnenskiy Rayon RKP(b) committee in Moscow organized a meeting between representatives of foreign communist parties and red trade unions, including the Bulgarian delegation, and veterans of the first Russian revolution of 1905-1907.

7. The letter was received and read by Lenin. [No reference found in text.]

8. Yurdan Yurdanov (1876-1942) was a member of the BRSDP(t.s.), and a delegate to the party congresses of 1902, 1907 and 1908. He represented the BCP in the Comintern Executive Committee in 1922-1923. After the defeat of the September 1923 anti-fascist uprising he joined the camp of the bourgeoisie and became a member of the National Liberal Party.

9. In October-November 1923 the Petrograd and Moscow city soviets of workers, peasant and red army deputies elected as honorary members D. Blagoev, G. Dimitrov, V. Kolarov and others, for their great services to the revolutionary workers movement in Russia and their active participation in the September 1923 antifascist uprising.

10. An international socialist congress was held in Basel on 24-25 November 1912, where a manifesto to the nations was adopted, calling upon them to intensify the struggle against the arising threat of a world war. The manifesto included the stipulation formulated by Lenin to the effect that should war break out, the socialist will do everything possible to struggle for a socialist revolution.

5003

CSO: 1802/18

BCP--PARTY OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 81 pp 84-95

[Article by Aleksandur Lilov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and BCP Central Committee secretary]

[Text] Ninety years have passed since a revolutionary workers party was founded in Bulgaria. On 2 August 1891, gathered on the legendary Buzludzha Peak in the Balkan Mountains, Dimitur Blagoev and his fellow workers laid the foundations of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party.

In these anniversary days the Bulgarian communists and all working people pay their respects to the bright personality and the historical accomplishments of Dimitur Blagoev-Dedo*, who founded the party of the Bulgarian working class and guided it for a period of three decades. The founding of our party would be inexplicable outside the context of Bulgaria's social development at the turn of the century, and the basic processes and phenomena in the development of Europe and the world at that time; it is inseparable from the dissemination of the Marxist doctrine of the revolutionary movement of the European and world proletariat. Unquestionably, it is especially this that constitutes the objective foundation of the founding of the Marxist party of the Bulgarian proletariat. However, as we take this into consideration, we never forget that Dimitur Blagoev holds a special place in the founding and development of our party and in the life of our country, and that in this area his historical role and merits were exceptional. Developed as a revolutionary and a Marxist within the Russian social democratic movement, and having directly participated in the founding of the first social democratic groups and the social democratic newspaper RABOCHIY in Russia, Blagoev wrote to us, in Bulgaria, the revolutionary experience of the Russian working class, thus linking forever the Bulgarian with the Russian revolutionary workers movement.

Dimitur Blagoev's great merit is that he was able to link the fate of our country with the new direction and forces of social development in order to take the Bulgarian working class to the high road of global revolutionary progress. Dimitur Blagoev was the first to indicate to the party, the people and the country the true way, which we are confidently following to this day. It is precisely for this reason that the personality and the accomplishments of the founder of our party are not only part of the past and of history but live and are active to this day in the struggle and accomplishments of the BCP.

*[Dedo (dedyshka)--Blagoev's revolutionary pseudonym]

Blagoev's accomplishments raise him to the level of patriarch and head of the Marxist party in Bulgaria, and of major theoretician and leader of the international revolutionary workers movement. It was no accident that the party he created and headed until 1924 exposed the treason of the Second International; in 1919, blocking a split, under Blagoev's leadership it took the name of Bulgarian Communist Party and actively participated in the creation of the new, the Communist International.

The stage of bolshevization of our party and of its conversion into a revolutionary Marxist party of a new Leninist type was qualitatively new in terms of its nature and historical in terms of its significance. Asserting everything most valuable inherited from the period of the "left-wing" socialism, and mastering the theoretical developments and revolutionary experience of Leninism, the BCP became the mature and strong Marxist-Leninist vanguard and leader of the Bulgarian working class, able to lead its class struggle to a victorious socialist revolution and the building of a real socialist society in Bulgaria.

This period is inseparably linked with the exceptional historical role of the other builder and leader of the BCP, of our great teacher and leader Georgi Dimitrov. His merits and contribution to the organization, development and growth of the BCP and the victory and building of socialism in Bulgaria are both immortal and priceless.

Next year we shall be celebrating the centennial of Georgi Dimitrov's birth. The forthcoming anniversary will unquestionably make it possible to see, in their full historical dimension, the accomplishments, personality and contribution of this great revolutionary, theoretician and leader of the Bulgarian and international communist and workers movements.

The BCP has been leading the struggle of the Bulgarian people for the past nine decades. This is an adequately long time for testing its nature and strength and determining its objectives and ideals. Today, from the height of this anniversary, it is clear that the party withstood the test of history. It made a victorious socialist revolution and is successfully guiding the building of a developed socialist society. As it implements the Leninist line of the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum, the party is confidently marching forward. It continues to be blood from the blood and flesh from the flesh of its class and people and, at the same time, their tried battle vanguard and political leader as well as one of the cohesive detachments of the international communist and workers movements.

1

Articles written on the occasion of anniversaries have their traditional pattern: they are an attempt to summarize all the basic characteristics of the person whose anniversary is being celebrated. From this point of view we should answer the question of what has the BCP represented over the past 90 years and what does it represent today from the ideological, political, social, moral, organizational and international viewpoints. It is clear, however, that all of these problems cannot be analyzed within the framework of a journal article.

Let us focus this article on the study of the Marxist-Leninist nature and character of the BCP. This is a major and very topical problem today, both from the global

and the specific historical viewpoints. Globally, the question of what a contemporary Marxist-Leninist party is and what it should be--the vanguard and leader of the revolutionary process--is one of the main problems of contemporary social development. Specifically, it is topical both because of the complex and major problems resolved by the fraternal parties today as well as the strong pressure exerted by the class enemies, opportunism and revisionism, whose objective is to "amend" or "change" their Marxist-Leninist nature and essence. All of us see, for example, that one of the elements of the "Polish crisis" is the desire to weaken, to break down the PZPR and see to it that it degenerates into a reformist party.

Consequently, to answer the question of what is and what should a Marxist-Leninist type party be today means to answer one of the general questions of our revolutionary epoch.

Taking the experience of the BCP as a basis, we shall mention here only one of its aspects: its ideological essence and character. As we look back at the distance covered by the BCP we see that as a political party, ever since it appeared and to this day, it has stood on the principled positions of scientific socialism and has always tried, precisely on the basis of such positions, to sum up as profoundly and perspicaciously as possible the social and political experience of the working class and the people's masses. The entire history of our party proves that it deliberately tried and tries, on the one hand, always to develop sociopolitical and revolutionary practice on the level of the requirements and criteria of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and, on the other, to materialize the basic stipulations of our doctrine and, by studying and summing up practical experience, to develop it further. Therefore, the unity between Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice historically determined the entire appearance and policy of the party from its foundation to the present.

The fact that our revolutionary workers movement experienced the long and favorable influence of Marxist-Leninist science, and that this precisely was the basis of the successful class struggle, is certainly not accidental. It was not the spontaneous result of historical developments or exclusively the personal merit of the creators and founders of our party, although their contribution in this respect is unquestionable. Indeed, we cannot deny that ever since the Communist Party Manifesto was published, K. Marx' and F. Engels' theory covered a noteworthy distance, that it merged closely with the upsurge and development of the revolutionary workers movement and became widespread throughout the world as the most progressive theory and ideology defending the interests of the broad toiling masses. It is understandable that the "ghost" which, according to Marx and Engels, was roaming in Europe since the middle of the 19th century, could not, in the final account, fail to reach even the then most backward areas and countries of the old continent. We would probably err, however, should we believe that in this case it is a question merely of purely external or strictly spiritual influences, of a kind of branching out of Marxist ideas. It is rather a question of objective requirements of sociohistorical developments, promptly understood by our first Marxists, in a profound, accurate and penetrating way, and of organizational, ideological and political actions, systematically and consciously directed on the basis of this need, which elevated within a very short historical period the movement of the Bulgarian working class to the level of a most active subjective factor in the historical process.

In what way did our party, ever since it was founded, act as an essentially proletarian party, regardless of the forces of the bourgeoisie, intolerant of reformist trends, and the exact opposite of the bourgeois parties then being organized in the country, which plunged into a struggle for the division of power, a party which was invariably directed toward a single end objective--the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist society?

Our socialist movement was destined to take its initial steps in a backward country which had recently gained its national liberation and taken the path of capitalist development, with a still weak and small working class. Naturally, the unorganized, class-ignorant and cruelly exploited working class could not become aware of its situation by itself, so that it might become a "class for its own sake," mount a struggle for its rights and find an organized solution to this situation. Furthermore, it was threatened by the real danger of falling under the influence of the numerous bourgeois and petit bourgeois parties and, particularly, of their corrupting ideology which was abundantly nurtured by the capitalist, mainly petty-ownership economic base of society.

Thus, on the one hand, socioeconomic circumstances aggravated class differentiation to the extreme while, at the same time, did not contribute to the growth of the class awareness of the proletariat. At the same time, however, these conditions quite clearly emphasized the need for a separate organization of the proletariat, which would facilitate its organization and growth as a new, an independent social class. In 1871 Marx wrote F. Bolte that "wherever the working class has not as yet been sufficiently successful in terms of its organization to mount a really decisive campaign against the collective power, i.e., the political power of the ruling classes, in all cases it must be trained for this through constant agitation against this power. A hostile position must be assumed toward the policy of the ruling classes. In the opposite case the working class will remain a toy in their hands" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], Vol 33, p 283).

In order not to become a toy in the hands of the bourgeois parties, the Bulgarian proletariat had to organize promptly its own political party. Under the specific conditions which prevailed in Bulgaria at the turn of the 20th century, it was precisely the long absence of a proletarian revolutionary party that would have held back the growth of the self-awareness of the working class and its political upsurge and systematic revolutionary development. In order for the latter to become reality, however, it was necessary to engage, above all, in the profound and creative study and understanding of Marxist theory and in the fast and effective dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism which had to become part of the awareness of the developing working class.

In our view, it was at this point that the social need and historical role of the subjective factor, the role of the individual in history, appeared most strongly. It is this that confirmed to us the greatness and invaluable personal contribution of Dimitur Blagoev-Dedo and his fellow workers. It was precisely they who laid the foundations of one of the most distinguishing characteristics and traditions of our party--loyalty and a creative attitude toward scientific socialism as a mandatory prerequisite for its proper development and for the successful implementation of its historical mission. The creators of our party were people of great revolutionary experience and culture. They were political leaders who were trained and developed as Marxists, closely related to the revolutionary movement of their time and armed

with a Marxist theoretical concept of the historical role of the proletariat in the age of tempestuous capitalist development. It was no accident that Blagoev himself acknowledged that, on the one hand, it was precisely Marx' "Das Kapital" that had enabled him to understand "the origin and growth of the working class, the hidden springs of capitalist production, the significance of the role which the working class played in it, the position of the working class, the foundations for its struggle and its organization and historical task, which was the expropriation of the expropriators." At the same time, on the other hand, he pointed out that "the dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism intensified the movement and rallied many socialists as an organized force."

It becomes clear, therefore, that if we were to exclude the influence of the subjective factor and of Marxist theory it would be very difficult to understand both the fundamental principles and ideological evolution of the creators, organizers and leaders of the party and, to an even greater extent, its relatively early establishment and development as the most conscientious and highly organized leading detachment of the Bulgarian working class. Unquestionably, it was precisely the accurate theoretical orientation of the party that ascribed it a new and a significant place in the country's political life. The entire point is that, from its very creation and, subsequently, throughout its entire legal and clandestine existence in bourgeois Bulgaria, Blagoev's party was radically and totally distinct from all other parties and movements in the country in that once and for all, it rejected narrow practicalism and political adventurism, it rejected the pursuit of temporary objectives and in all its activities it was quite alien to any kind of political, theoretical or ideological carelessness. The party of the Bulgarian communists struggled not simply for power but for the radical, the revolutionary reorganization of the capitalist society.

On this basis, it seems proper to draw a substantiated conclusion, tested by BCP history: without clear ideological and theoretical foundations and without a clear ideological awareness no strong Marxist-Leninist party can exist. At all times the guiding role of the theory of scientific socialism is a necessary and irreplaceable means and weapon in all practical and guiding party activities. This is a particularly important lesson to take, when for a variety of reasons the threat of lowering theoretical awareness and of confusing, eroding and reforming it, of a general underestimating of the role of theory under the present tremendous scale of the revolutionary process is intensified. It is no accident that in each specific case, the threat of social democratic formations in some contemporary Marxist-Leninist parties begins precisely with underestimating the theoretical and ideological foundations of their political activities.

2

Currently, when some parties and some party leaders are belittling in various ways the role of scientific theory, when a dangerous circumstantial political pragmatism is manifesting itself ever more overtly, the more thorough study of our historical experience and of the role of Marxist-Leninist theory in the creation and internal establishment and development of the BCP assumes an essential significance. Actually, what did scientific socialism contribute to our party?

It is proper, it seems to us, in this connection to go back once again to V. I. Lenin's thought to the effect that "A movement which is initiated in a young country can be successful only if it reworks the experience of other countries. In order to achieve this, simple familiarity with this experience or a simple duplication of its resolutions is insufficient. This requires the skill to adopt a critical attitude toward this experience and to test it independently" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 6, p 24). In the light of this stipulation we can easily see that the experience of other countries came to us as well not merely as a result of borrowing individual theses, stipulations or even entire resolutions.

The experience of other countries came to us mainly as a support of revolutionary theory itself, as the daily consideration of and even the testing of this theory on the basis of specifically Bulgarian conditions. To our first socialists it was specifically Marxism that represented the most concentrated form of experience, drawn straight from the international workers movement.

The fact that from the very first day of its existence Blagoev's party began to resolve problems of the class struggle from the positions of scientific socialism is a fact of tremendous and essential significance. On the one hand, this strongly limited the influence of random, extraneous, primordial and secondary factors on the development of the workers movement; on the other, it made it possible for the party to analyze steadily and effectively the objective and natural course of events and to use it in the interest of the working class. All of this was firmly manifested in the historically developed clear class-political nature of our party. Let us discuss this matter in greater detail.

Let us point out, above all, that firm reliance on revolutionary Marxist theory enabled the party promptly to realize that the developing working class was a grave-digger of capitalism in our country. In other words, it was precisely on this theoretical basis that it was able to penetrate deeply into the essence of the historical situation which had developed in our country at that time and the overall considerable backwardness notwithstanding, to identify the revolutionary prospects for social development. Therefore, Marxist theory did not lead the party away from specific facts and circumstances but, on the contrary, brought it closer to them, and helped it to become aware of the profound inner trends of our economic and political development, indicating to the party the most accurate political line to be followed under specific national conditions and circumstances.

At the same time, it was precisely scientific socialism that revealed to the party, most fully and systematically, the fact that regardless of the entire uniqueness of historical conditions and of national development, Bulgaria was taking the path of capitalist development, even though behind other countries, and that this would inevitably turn the working class against the bourgeoisie and lead to a sharp class struggle and a socialist revolution. That is why the workers movement in our country was able to develop most promisingly and most successfully precisely as a structural component of the international workers movement. Therefore, the party always took into consideration in its activities specific and historically developed working and struggling conditions in the country without, however, ever taking a regional direction or becoming nationally limited. It never lost track of the fact that the liberation of the proletariat is an international task and that it is an

irreversible global process to which each separate working class, party and country will make its contribution.

The creation of a revolutionary Marxist party of the Bulgarian proletariat was of exceptional importance to our national development and progress. The timely unification and organization of the revolutionary energy of the Bulgarian working class made it possible to use it as a powerful motive force in the open, conscious and purposeful class struggle for a new social system and new life. At the turn of the century, when the Marxist party appeared and when a struggle for the revolutionary reorganization of the capitalist society began, economically Bulgaria might have been behind others but in terms of global political developments it held a position in the very front ranks. It was no accident that the Great October Socialist Revolution met with such a tremendous response and enthusiasm among the party, the working class and the Bulgarian people. It was immediately after it that the Vladaya military uprising took place and that 5 years later the party headed the first antifascist uprising in the world, in September 1923.

One of our party's great advantages was that, in the course of engaging in an open and systematic struggle against reformism and right-wing and left-wing revisionism in its ranks and internationally, throughout its entire history it never looked for a different ideological and theoretical foundation for itself and for the development of the struggle and the victory of the socialist revolution than Marxism-Leninism. The party by itself defeated and rejected in its time the reformist "right-wing socialism" of Yanko Sakuzov and, later, "left-wing" sectarianism, nationalism and other ideas and trends alien to scientific socialism.

Our party's profound attachment to Marxism-Leninism enabled it not only to remain essentially loyal to the liberation struggle waged by the working class but to penetrate directly and profoundly into the social realities, to define the most essential and basic class interests of the workers and all working people and to express and defend them. That is why it has never been a kind of exclusive political elite, a kind of exclusive sect separated from the working people and alien to the interests of the people's masses.

Alongside the steady enrichment and increase of its ideological potential and influence, the party waged steadily, a ceaseless struggle against the various bourgeois and petit bourgeois currents and theories, deviations from revolutionary theory and attempts to obstruct the inculcation of scientific socialism in mass awareness and to combine it with the specific requirements of the revolutionary struggle waged by the working class and the broad people's masses. Thus, this strong Marxist-Leninist theoretical position, tested by reality, became profoundly embodied in the long and firm tradition of our irreconcilable ideological struggle against any and all deviations from scientific socialism or ideological encroachments on it.

As we may see, the fact that, relying on scientific socialism, the party rose to the position of a leading political force which can free the working class from the influence of bourgeois politics and ideology through its organizational, political and ideological activities, place it in a new, its own orbit of motion and development, and give it the ability properly to engage in the political guidance of the toiling masses, was of decisive importance in terms of the class-political aspect of our party.

Let us immediately add that this ideological-theoretical revolutionary-practical experience of ours is one of the greatest achievements of the party in its 90-year history. Again and again we go back to it, in order to understand more profoundly and better and to be guided more accurately both in terms of our history and of the present. This particularly applies now, when we are witnessing the tireless attempts of imperialists to implant in the workers movement either their own or suitable social democratic views, approaches and solutions of contemporary national and international problems. For many years contemporary anticommunism has been concentrating its efforts essentially against Lenin and Leninism and has been doing everything possible to "de-Leninize" scientific socialism and the international communist and workers movements. If we consider such attacks against the communist movement from the ideological viewpoint we cannot fail to see the existence of an extremely dangerous phenomenon--an attempt to cause the ideological disarmament of the workers and communist movements and the internal deformation of the Marxist-Leninist nature of the party.

Any retreat from scientific socialism is fraught with the real danger that the party may lose its class orientation and objectives, abandon the front of the proletarian class struggle, adopt a reformist platform and lose its revolutionary nature. In such a case its only alternative is the faster or slower adoption of social democratic ideas. Under capitalist conditions this is a prelude to a breakdown and crisis within the party and its transformation from adversary to partner of the bourgeoisie and from a revolutionary force to an integral part of the bourgeois system. Under socialist conditions this marks the beginning of an internal crisis which, as life has shown, given some adverse external and internal conditions, rapidly turns into a crisis of the entire society and becomes a real threat of destabilization and subversion of the socialist social system itself.

That is why today we can say with full justification that loyalty to Marxism-Leninism is the first characteristic feature of a communist party; we can also note that it is no accident that today incredible efforts are being made to undermine precisely the Marxist-Leninist orientation of the international communist and workers movements and of individual communist and workers parties.

3

Any blind veneration of theory or any transformation of theory into dogma rather than use as a specific manual for action can mislead and isolate any party from reality, dooming it to sectarianism, hindering its ties with the broad masses and, in the final account, compromising its leading role and depriving it of the ability to lead.

Our party displayed not only wisdom by tying itself to the theory of scientific socialism; in its historical development it showed farsightedness by steadily studying and mastering this theory, creatively applying it in accordance with our national conditions and enriching and developing it. G. Dimitrov pointed out, "It is easier to master the principles of Marxism-Leninism than to learn how to apply such principles in practice accurately and promptly, as a manual for action at each stage of social development."

Indeed, throughout its history the party has not always been able to master and apply the Marxist-Leninist theory properly and promptly in the case of some isolated

events and processes. As we know, the delay with which the party accepted the new features which Lenin introduced into Marxist theory prevented it from properly understanding and evaluating events and processes which took place in the country at the end of World War I and in its immediate aftermath. However, the initiated process of bolshevization of the party and its conversion into a party of a new, Leninist type raised it to the level of the tasks and demands of the time and modernized and updated its political activities in such a way that it was able to become the hegemon in the revolutionary struggle and the principal guiding force among all progressive forces which rose to give battle to advancing fascism. Therefore, through its own experience the BCP learned the truth that it is precisely Leninism that raises the party to the level of the contemporary age and that it is precisely Leninism that arms it with the theory of the socialism revolution and the building of a real socialist society.

Our party has always emphasized that it owes its accomplishments to the application of the Leninist ideas. It is precisely the general principles of Leninism, which were brilliantly confirmed during the October Revolution and the building of socialism in the USSR, that enabled our party to master the specific historical characteristics of Bulgarian social reality and to formulate original solutions to the many problems of the building of socialism in our country.

Today the dialectics of the general, the universal and the specific in the class struggle and in the building of socialism is being energetically debated in the international communist and workers movements. We are far from the idea that this is a farfetched discussion. As we know, for a while no proper attention was paid to such problems despite their importance. Without reducing the importance of the general laws in the least, the current stage of development of the revolutionary process and the building of socialism has formulated more topically and significantly the question of taking into consideration specific historical--social, national and other--characteristics and conditions in which the revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism are taking place.

However, along with this positive need, a negative trend has appeared--to reduce everything, in the final account, to specific, regional or national aspects. From the viewpoint of this problem this means the absolutizing of national individuality and even the isolation of individual communist parties. In his work "What Is To Be Done?" Lenin pointed out that divisions, confusions, readiness to undertake compromises and make concessions, petty practicalism and the total theoretical carelessness of that period led to the fact that scientific socialism stopped being an integral revolutionary theory and became a mess to which the content of any new German textbook was "freely" added (see V. I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 6, p 182). Let us point out for the sake of justice that particularly insistent attempts are being made today "to add" material borrowed mainly from the misinterpreted concept of "national characteristics." This makes topical once again the old question which has faced our movement: what type of approach to the theory of Marxism and Leninism could be described as being contemporary and creative?

It is natural for the communist parties to be guided in their activities by the general principles and laws, for it is precisely within them that the main, the essential, the repeated and the natural features of all isolated and special processes and phenomena of the class struggle in each country, big or small, developed or backward, whatever part of the world it may be in, are crystalized and embodied.

However, at the same time the proper and creative attitude toward the general truths of the class struggle and of the socialist revolution, which have been practically tried, does not mean the abandonment of the specific, does not mean scorn for regional features or any opposition to the specific nature of one or another circumstance. On the contrary, this attitude mandatorily demands a specific historical approach, for any general law is manifested precisely in the sum total of specific regional unique phenomena and conditions. The communist party and the communist leader who are unable to understand and consider the characteristics of a specific revolutionary process and the varieties of the global transition from capitalism to socialism are dogmatic and as dangerous as those who are unable to see behind a specific fact a profound pattern or behind a temporary advantage the basic interests and objectives of the revolution. "As long as national and state differences among nations and countries exist," Lenin wrote, "which differences will remain for quite some time even after a dictatorship of the proletariat has been established on a universal scale, the unity of international tactics of the communist workers movement in all countries demands not the elimination of varieties or national differences (which would be a stupid dream today) but the type of application of the basic principles of communism (Soviet system and proletarian dictatorship) which would properly change specific features of these principles and would properly adapt and apply them to national and national-governmental differences" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 77).

In the spirit of Lenin's words we can say that one can speak of a creative, a Marxist-Leninist attitude and approach to contemporary processes and phenomena only when a profound understanding of the new social reality and circumstances has been achieved, on the basis of general Marxist-Leninist principles and laws, and when topical problems encountered by revolutionary activities are resolved accurately.

It was by relying on this principled Leninist stipulation that the CPSU gave us an exceptional example of a great, unparalleled innovation and creativity in human history. All that converted backward and poor Russia into today's Soviet Union--the vanguard of global socialist progress--is the result of this creativity. Naturally, the experience of the USSR is not something to be automatically duplicated and adopted. It is a question of something more important and more complex, namely that the practice of the building of socialism in the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity, including our country, unquestionably proves the universal significance of the general laws of the socialist revolution and is a confirmation of the specific historical characteristics of the development of different countries and peoples along the socialist way. "The common features of the revolutionary process and of the building of a socialist society," Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasizes, "assume specific and characteristic aspects in each separate country."

What else is needed for a Marxist-Leninist party to adopt a creative approach and a creative attitude toward theory and reality?

The 90-year history of the BCP provides us with the necessary arguments in favor of the following basic conclusion: This requires a great deal, such as a high ideological and theoretical standard of the party and its leading cadres, a creative atmosphere, a strong and capable leadership, a creative workstyle and method, clear ideas on the ways and means leading to the study and dynamics of the society and so on. Once they are present, the main, the decisive factor is that, on the one hand,

Marxist-Leninist creativity is impossible without Marxist-Leninist theoretical consistency, without loyalty and dedication to the ideals and principles of scientific socialism and that, on the other, creative activities and a struggle cannot be developed without the steady theoretical study of reality, and without taking into consideration the characteristics and changes in specific social practices.

The Marxist-Leninist party must ensure the proper and flexible application of the general principles in accordance with specific historical conditions. The steadily arising new problems demand new solutions, for which reason the party must always maintain a live, an active, a creative attitude toward Marxist-Leninist theory. As Lenin pointed out in his time, right-wing doctrinairism acknowledges only the old forms, ignoring a contemporary new content; in turn, "left-wing" doctrinairism rejects the old forms, unable to see that the new content opens a way for itself in all kinds of ways. In Lenin's view the communists have the duty to master all forms, to learn with maximum speed how to supplement one form with another or replace one form with another, and to adapt their tactics to any change of circumstances (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 41, p 89).

The proper interpretation and solution of contemporary problems is possible not by retreating from the basic Marxist-Leninist stipulations but through their creative utilization, through the principled and creative utilization of the tremendous heuristic opportunities offered by Marxist-Leninist doctrine. For this purpose our theory must be considered not merely as a sum total of familiar truths but as a process for the study of reality, a means for finding in the complex tangle of specific conditions and circumstances the most accurate way to truth, as the constant discovery of new truths and the enrichment with their help of the familiar truths.

Throughout its entire historical development our party waged a constant struggle against conservatism and a dogmatic attitude toward theory, ossification and sclerosis in the application of the basic Marxist-Leninist principles, against right-wing and left-wing opportunism and against any attempt at revising scientific socialism. Loyal to its creative approach to the topical problems, objectives and tasks of the workers movement and the building of socialism, whenever it made an error or a blunder the party was able promptly to draw proper, profound and, above all, principled conclusions, i.e., conclusions based on Marxist-Leninist theory. In this sense it developed as a party which possesses a profound feeling of realism, which considers itself and its results critically, a party which has never experienced a feeling of dizziness from its successes and has never retreated in the face of difficulties or demobilized its ranks because of its errors.

Therefore, history has taught us yet another lesson: the ability to engage in theoretical and practical creativity is a fundamental feature of a Marxist-Leninist party. A party which has lost or weakened this feature actually loses the prerequisites for being the political vanguard and leader of the working class and the people's masses in the revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism.

Our party is celebrating its anniversary under circumstances marked by active efforts and struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress. The documents of the congress and, above all, the report by Comrade Todor Zhivkov are our political line and specific work program for the next 5 years.

In further developing the April socioeconomic party policy, the 12th congress called for a conversion from a primarily extensive to intensive development of the national economy. This is a new stage of our economic progress. It will create a real opportunity for the successful solution of the main socioeconomic problem formulated at the congress: the further comprehensive and ever fuller satisfaction of the steadily growing spiritual and material needs of the people.

The new bigger and more complex tasks require the creation of conditions for the further development of the legitimate process of expansion and intensification of relations and ties among fraternal socialist countries. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out that "it is impossible today to imagine the confident development of one or another socialist country and the successful solution by it of problems such as the procurement of energy resources and raw materials or the application of the latest scientific and technical achievements without ties with the other fraternal countries. We resolve the problems which arise in the course of our cooperation jointly. We seek ways for a more proper combination between the interests of the individual fraternal countries and their common interests."

"The intensification and expansion of our participation in the international socialist economic integration among CEMA-member countries on a bilateral and multi-lateral basis and, above all, the comprehensive cooperation and rapprochement between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union, will remain the cornerstone of our foreign economic policy," the Central Committee accountability report to the 12th BCP Congress stipulated.

The accelerated development of socialist Bulgaria is most closely linked to Bulgarian-Soviet fraternity and all-round cooperation and rapprochement. Here are a few facts: Industrial enterprises built according to Soviet blueprints and operating with equipment supplied by the USSR ensure virtually our entire production of ferrous and nonferrous metals and over 70 percent of the output of the chemical and electric power industries. Equipment procured from the Soviet Union laid the foundations of our agricultural mechanization. The Soviet market is the biggest and most stable consumer of our large-scale steadily expanding industrial agricultural output. The comprehensive cooperation and rapprochement with the USSR, based on the principles of equality and mutual benefit, are vitally needed by the Bulgarian People's Republic.

This applies to the economic and all other areas of our development. The Bulgarian people will remember that in the 13-century history of our state its borders have been repeatedly violated, changed or eliminated by hostile forces. This is the first time in our centuries-old history that thanks to our alliance with the great land of the soviets we can live in peace with reliably protected borders, confident of the inviolability of our national independence and territory. Our confidence and tranquillity are guaranteed by the powerful joint military power of the Warsaw Pact and the wise and peaceful policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

That is why, like all other nations in the world, we are deeply grateful to the 26th CPSU Congress for the global peace strategy it formulated. The peoples viewed this congress as a forum of peace and detente, indicating to mankind the proper way and restoring its hopes. The congress will enter history as one which preserved and continued detente in international relations. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev's report includes and offers governmental and political forces in the contemporary world a sensible and realistic program for peace and detente in the 1980s.

At their 12th congress the Bulgarian communists adopted this program for peace and detente as their own and stated that as a party, state and people we are doing and will do everything possible to ensure its implementation. We are confident that the decisions of the 12th BCP and 26th CPSU Congresses will be implemented, for these are correct Marxist-Leninist decisions made by Marxist-Leninist parties.

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IN THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL AND SOCIAL LIBERATION OF THE PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 81 pp 96-105

[Article by Moses Mabida, secretary general of the South African Communist Party]

[Text] The South African Communist Party is the first Marxist-Leninist party founded on the African continent. It will be celebrating the 60th anniversary of its founding on 30 July.

The party's history begins with the founding of a political organization known as the "League for War on War," which appeared in South Africa in September 1914. One year later it was renamed the "International Socialist League" (ISL). The small group of radical socialists, members of the league, adopted a firm antiwar platform and became the nucleus of the future party. The league developed an extensive antiwar movement, based on the resolutions of the Stuttgart, Copenhagen and Basel congresses of the Second International.

The league consisted of immigrant workers who had come to the factories and mines of South Africa before and after the Anglo-Boer war. They included many trade-union activists and socialists who began to organize trade unions and set up social-democratic organizations in their new jobs.

Despite the persecution by the authorities, who were doing everything possible to isolate the International Socialist League, the organization remained firm on proletarian positions. Led by D. Ivon Jones, S. P. Banting, W. H. (Bill) Andrews, K. Ueida and E. (Ru) the league's rank-and-file members became convinced Marxists. Their revolutionary outlook was based on their firm belief in the final victory of the working class.

The Great October Socialist Revolution had a strong revolutionizing impact on the labor movement in South Africa. New leftist groups developed in the working class. All of them aspired to unification on the basis of a common platform. Fourteen representatives of the International Socialist League and of other Marxist groups operating in various parts of the country met in Capetown on 30 July 1921 and, after lengthy debates, announced the creation of the communist party.¹ Bylaws were drafted and an executive committee was elected. The newly-created party took over the ISL printing press and newspaper. The manifesto drafted by ISL leaders W. H. Andrews, S. P. Banting and S. B. Tyler proclaimed as the basic task of the communist party the establishment of the broadest and closest possible ties with

workers of all categories and races to lead them to the overthrow of capitalism. The manifesto stipulated that the power must be in the hands of those who work rather than of the exploiters.

In 1922 the white miners at Witwatersrand struck in protest against the lowering of wages and the decision by the mine owners to replace white workers with Africans who were paid one-tenth of the white workers' salaries. Essentially, this action developed into an uprising against the government by the white workers, supported by African nationalists. Governmental troops and police suppressed the strike with the help of artillery, machine guns, tanks and airplanes. About 250 workers died in 5 days of fighting. The communists were in the front ranks of the strikers. Their objective was to strengthen solidarity among workers of different races, direct the strike at the foundations of capitalism and raise the wages of Africans to the level of the white workers.

The African population as well was unwilling to tolerate its situation.² Considerable groups of black workers began to join in the class struggle. In 1918 Johannesburg cleaning workers went on strike for higher wages. Several months later an even bigger strike broke out at the Witwatersrand gold mines.

The African working people resumed their struggle in February 1920. That year more than 70,000 people struck at 22 mines, demanding higher wages. The militant spirit of the African workers of that period was clearly manifested in the founding of their own trade union--the Industry and Trade Workers Union (ICU). The union was founded in January 1919 in Capetown. It called upon the people to break the chains of economic oppression and to act against poverty and racial discrimination. The ICU became a mass workers organization and by 1928 had 70,000 members. Subsequently, however, it fell under the influence of white liberals, social democrats and reformists. Matters went so far that noted communists such as J. LaGuma, J. Gomas and E. Hayle were expelled from the trade union. All of this led to a decline in the prestige of the ICU among the workers and to a drop in union membership.

In the 1920s a debate developed within the communist party on problems quite important under our conditions, mainly the ties between the workers and the national-liberation movements. Thus, at the December 1927 annual SACP conference the discussion dealt with the nature of the system favored by the communists. At the conference it was LaGuma, in particular, who defended the viewpoint of the Comintern and of V. I. Lenin, according to which the struggle waged by the oppressed people for liberation from colonial rule creates prerequisites for a proletarian revolution. Give power to the African majority and socialism will be built, he said. In this connection, LaGuma insisted on concentrating the efforts of the SACP on promoting the comprehensive upsurge of the national liberation struggle while preserving its autonomy and nature as a party fighting for socialism. As to the white workers, he said in his address, they have fallen under the influence of imperialist ideology and are perfectly aware of the fact that their privileges are based on the exploitation of the African workers.

This position was confirmed at the Sixth Comintern Congress, held in Moscow in 1928, where the SACP was represented by S. P. Banting, his wife, and E. (Ru), the noted party leader. The congress approved a draft resolution which called for the creation of a united front by the workers and national liberation movements to struggle for the establishment of an independent "native" republic and for majority rule.

At the regular SACP January 1929 conference the new bylaws and program, which contained demands for the national self-determination of the African people and the creation of a republic of workers and peasants, were overwhelmingly approved. The conference expressed its unconditional support of the struggle of the Africans who wanted to become the masters of their country. The program stipulated that before South Africa could progress to a classless society an end had to be put to racial discrimination in the country. It contained an appeal to the white workers to reject the role of "workers' aristocracy," which doomed them to helplessness and treason in the class struggle, and to support the demand of giving the power to the Africans.

The very circumstances in the country led the communists to change their methods of struggle. Starting with 1925 the communist party emphasized work among the toiling Africans and was able to achieve substantial successes. Within a single year, from 1927 to 1928, African membership in the SACP rose from 200 to 1,600 people. Africans E. Hayle, G. Makabeni and T. W. Tibeledi were the first Africans elected to the Central Committee of the SACP in 1927. At the 1929 conference 20 black and 10 white delegates represented about 3,000 party members.

Successes were achieved in the trade union movement as well. After the breakdown of the ICU into individual groups, the African workers began increasingly to turn to the party. In March 1928 more than 150 representatives of different trade unions met in Johannesburg and founded the Non-European Trade Unions Federation. This positive process coincided with another entirely opposite one.

Approximately at that time or, more specifically, after the founding of a nationalist-labor government in 1924, the revolutionary phase in the development of the white labor movement, which had rejected the possibility of an alliance with African working people, was completed. Contaminated by racial prejudices, to this day it is serving the interests of the extreme reaction.

The measures taken for the training and promotion of Africans to leading positions in the party contributed to the mobilization of the masses to oppose the white terrorism unleashed by the racist regime during the period of tremendous unemployment and hunger caused by the "great depression." In 1930 even a commission appointed by the government reported the existence of a "horrific poverty" among the natives in the reservations. Poor harvests, overpopulation and overcrowding in the agricultural areas forced the peasants to migrate to the city. In order to make the workers return to the white settlers' farms, the authorities tightened the laws on passes and the so-called "control over the travel of Africans." In the cities they were settled in black ghettos known as "locations." During raids, the police broke into homes at night, arrested anyone without a pass or proof of payment of taxes and beat their victims as they chased them into police vans.

The communist party called upon the population to rise to the struggle against race and persecutions. "We shall remain slaves as long as we think that we can only pray and appeal to the cruel government for mercy," wrote A. Nzula, the first African to assume the position of SACP secretary general. Appeals were heard throughout the country for a mass burning of passes on the day of 16 December 1930, the anniversary of the battle between the Zulus and the Boers. Bonfires were lit in the biggest cities throughout the country.

The communist party, which headed this struggle, did not let itself be frightened by the fierce reprisals against its activists and called for extending the pass-burning campaign to all ghettos, farms, mines and factories.

Meanwhile, the clouds of war were thickening over Europe and Hitler had come to power in Germany. When the Comintern called for organizing a united front against fascism and war, the communist party appealed to the African National Congress, the trade unions, the socialists and the liberals to join efforts in the struggle against fascism, police persecution and unemployment. In this case the party proceeded from the fact that the communist and national-liberation movements were structural components of the revolutionary process in South Africa. It considered unity and total reciprocal understanding between these two forces a prerequisite for victory. The Antifascist League was organized in March 1934. It included communists, trade union leaders, socialists, members of the Friends of the Soviet Union Society and other radical and liberal organizations.

By the end of the 1930s the party was able to surmount manifestations of sectarianism and dogmatism within its ranks. Moses Kotane, a noted communist infinitely dedicated to the cause of the working class and all working people, took over the party's leadership and remained its secretary general for many years.

The communist party stood against the war started by Hitlerite Germany. It characterized it as an imperialist war for sources of raw materials, markets and colonies.

When fascist Germany attacked the USSR on 22 June 1941, the party's Central Committee called for the defense of the first socialist republic in the world. The communists proclaimed that without the Soviet Union fascism could not be destroyed, the oppressed colonial peoples could not be liberated and the road to socialism in other countries could not be opened. The party doubled its efforts in the struggle for freedom. It emphasized that the truly just nature of the war must be expressed in granting total equality to colonial peoples.

As before, within the country the party deemed racism, which acted hand in hand with Nazism, its main enemy. The reaction tried to suppress the trade union movement, mercilessly persecuted the African population, erected color barriers and promoted the worst forms of segregation and discrimination.

Under the influence of events, the African National Congress, which was a mass African organization, assumed more radical positions. In opposing the reformist views of their "old guard," the young ANC activists and future leaders O. Tambo, N. Mandela, G. Mbeki and W. Sisulu³ formed a Youth League in 1943. A bill of rights which subsequently became part of the bylaws of this organization was adopted at the annual conference in 1943. In 1949 the Youth League developed its own Program for Action. All of this meant a break with the old tactic whose main weapons were the sending of petitions and deputations to the government asking it to reduce the oppression.

The defeat of the Axis powers by the Red Army and its allies became the triumph of all progressive forces in the world. In South Africa this victory instilled in the communists and radical African nationalists faith in the inevitable failure of colonialism and racism in their homeland. The black population sharply increased its resistance to white rule. The big strike of August 1914, headed by J. Marks, the

noted leader of the South African revolutionary movement and future chairman of the SACP, was a vivid confirmation of the increased militancy of the Africans. The strike was joined by 100,000 black miners. The police crushed the strike with rifle fire. More than 1,000 workers were wounded and 10 were killed. Let us point out that in this case the white miners acted as strike breakers and organized armed detachments to support the police.

The spirit of protest was manifested also in the appeal which the African National Congress passed in October 1946 (on the suggestion of party member M. Kotane and A. Lembede, member of the African National Congress Youth League), which called upon the Africans to fight for civil rights and to boycott parliamentary elections (the point being that only whites could represent Africans in parliament), and elections for the Council of Native Representatives, set up by the racists.

Frightened by the upsurge of the liberation movement, the authorities engaged in fierce repression against the communists. The police raided the premises of the SACP committees, seized party documents and arrested members of the Central Executive Committee, charging them with instigation to mutiny. The trial of the communist party leaders, organized by the reaction, lasted four years.

In 1950, two years after the Nationalist Party came to power, the government struck again: the infamous law on suppression of communism was passed. The communist party was banned.

Mass organizations such as the ANC, the South African Indian Congress, the African Political Organization (APO) and the African trade unions angrily condemned the law on the suppression of communism and the arbitrary rule of the authorities. The ANC South African Indian Congress and APO set up a joint general strike coordination committee. (Yu.) Dadu, the present chairman of the SACP, then stated that "This is the first time in the history of South Africa that the heads of national movements have acted so decisively and unanimously in opposing the offensive of the fascist government mounted against the vital rights and freedoms of the people."

After the party was banned the communists continued their struggle under clandestine conditions. Party cells were active throughout the country. The party members--most of them Africans--became even more active in the national liberation organizations. Thanks to the dedicated efforts of the communists, reciprocal understanding and cooperation between the communist party and all detachments of the national liberation movement rose to a new, a higher level.

Socialist ideas were spread by the journal AFRICAN COMMUNIST, which soon became the leading Marxist-Leninist publication on the continent. It is distributed clandestinely in the Republic of South Africa and other African countries where the Marxist-Leninist doctrine is banned.

Furthermore, the party clandestinely published, translated into African languages, many works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, including the "Communist Party Manifesto" of K. Marx and F. Engels and V. I. Lenin's "The 'Leftist' Infantile Disease of Communism." These publications are aimed at the local population. Our newspaper INKULULEKO ("Freedom") and leaflets distributed in factories, residential districts and commercial centers inform the population of the party's political decisions and assessments of current events.

The law on the suppression of communism, which forbids communists to work in trade unions, struck a tangible blow at the African trade union movement. The communists had always ascribed prime significance to working within it. On the basis of this law the reaction inspired a campaign for the removal of the communists from the trade unions. However, the authorities were unable to break the will of the workers. The South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) was organized in 1955. It soon became a powerful force in mobilizing the workers in the struggle for not only economic but political demands. Between 1955 and 1961 the SACTU organized three nationwide general strikes conducted under democratic slogans. Fearing the increased influence of this trade union, the racist regime mounted a new campaign of persecution of trade union activists, resorting to assassinations, detentions, jailing and imposition of a variety of bans. Nevertheless, the communists and other democratically-leaning trade union leaders continued their struggle. In 1969 the relative quiet on the social front was broken by the strike of the Durban stevedores. This was followed by the militant actions of the Namibian workers who asked for higher wages and the abolishment of the contracting system and the "compounds," settlements of a barracks type where African workers were housed. The wave of strikes spread to the gold mines of Natal and the mines of Witwatersrand. As a result, the owners of the mining companies were forced to raise the wages of African miners and grant access to some jobs previously held by whites only. The SACTU has not only energized its activities in organizing and uniting the miners and the other working class detachments in South Africa but is also the combat ally of the African National Congress in the national liberation struggle.

An agreement was reached between the national liberation organizations of the African, colored and Indian populations and the white democrats and trade unions, which took the name of the Union of Congresses, in the 1950s. W. Sisulu, ANC secretary general, stated that the creation of a united front turns a new page in the history of the country and will mark the entry of its people into the era of its liberation.

In April 1952 the Union of Congresses mounted a campaign of disobedience to reactionary laws. Thousands of citizens of the Republic of South Africa demonstratively broke apartheid laws. Mass resistance to the racist regime and to its new encroachments on the rights of the people rose inordinately. The authorities were able to suppress the disobedience campaign with the help of naked force. However, the reaction was unable to frighten the Union of Congresses, which began preparations for a congress of the people of South Africa.

The people's congress was held in Cliptown, a suburb of Johannesburg, on 26 June 1955. More than 3,000 delegates from all parts of the country took part in its proceedings. The adoption of the Freedom Charter was a noteworthy accomplishment of this forum. In the words of N. Mandel, the charter was a "revolutionary document precisely because the changes which it demanded could not be carried out without a radical breakdown of the entire economic and political structure of today's South Africa."

To this day the Freedom Charter remains a programmatic document of the national liberation movement in South Africa. It defines the immediate objective of the movement: the elimination of white rule. The authorities answered the appeal of the people's congress by detaining 156 of its participants and charging them with treason to the state. After keeping them in jail for several years, the racist regime was forced to release them (in March 1961), having been unable to prove that the Freedom Charter calls for the establishment of a "communist state."

The struggle against racist laws continued to grow. A new campaign was initiated by the ANC in opposition to the past laws in 1959. Once again the police resorted to weapons on 21 March 1960. That day 69 people were killed in Sharpeville and another 7 in Lange when machine guns opened fire on peaceful Africans. Together with the other progressive forces, the ANC called for the burning of passes to honor the memory of the fallen, proclaiming 28 March a day of mourning. At that time again the racist government answered with repression. A state of emergency was declared in the country. The police arrested more than 2,000 fighters for freedom who wasted away in jail without trial and investigation for many months. A new law--the Illegal Organizations Act--was passed in April 1960, affecting the ANC.

Under those circumstances the Union of Congresses decided to found its own military organization "Umkonto we Sizwe" ("Lance of the Nation"). The "Lance of the Nation," the combat detachment of the people and of the national liberation movement, is operating under the "general political leadership" of the ANC.

The communists support this organization. The communist party's program entitled "The Road to Freedom in South Africa" states that the ruling system itself "is imposing the type of solution to the South African problem in which patriots and democrats will be forced to take up arms for self-defense, create guerilla armies and resort to various acts of armed resistance, which will culminate in a people's uprising against white rule." The decision to convert to armed struggle and to create a military wing of the ANC was passed jointly with the SACP. The party does not have its own armed detachments. However, some of the commanders of the armed detachments are also communists. Some of them have been killed in the struggle for freedom or sentenced to long jail terms, including life. I would like to state at this point that communists are being promoted to leading positions in various sectors of the national liberation movement because of their individual capabilities, loyalty and outstanding individual contributions to the common cause.

We consider armed action as one of the methods in the struggle for revolutionary change and for seizing the power by the majority, and as a necessary instrument which we shall continue to use as long as the racist regime is answering our demands with violence and repression. Our main attention is focused on the political struggle while armed operations are used only to support it and to achieve political objectives. Today our revolutionary task is to rally all the oppressed, raise the level of awareness of the masses, strengthen their organization and combine the combat actions of the people and the strike and student movements with military actions.

We must also emphasize that the communists do not reject a possible peaceful development of the revolution in South Africa. In their view, this calls for transferring the power to the "representatives of the oppressed majority peacefully, through talks."

However, from the very beginning this prospect appeared unlikely. After the authorities passed new and even stronger repressive laws, it became practically impossible. According to these laws the participants in the struggle for freedom could be jailed without trial for a period of 90 and, later, as many as 180 days. Furthermore, the opponents of apartheid are subject to so-called "bans," i.e., they can be deprived of jobs and the right to engage in political activities and kept under house arrest. Hundreds of democrats, including some leaders of the SACP, ANC and SACTU, have been forced to leave the country. Even abroad they mounted an active struggle against the racist regime.

In the 1950s and 1960s the wave of the national liberation movement in Africa, moving down from the north of the continent, reached the border of the Republic of South Africa. The gaining of independence by the peoples of Angola and Mozambique in 1974-1975 was particularly important. This made the liberation of the people of South Africa in the life of the present generation entirely possible.

Trouble broke out among African university and secondary school students in 1976. They launched a boycott of schools where teaching was in Afrikaans, a language despised by the black population as being that of the oppressors. Understandably, the causes of the boycott were deeper: hatred for the apartheid system and white rule. These actions were supported by the country's working class. Using armored cars the police mounted a savage reprisal against Africans in Soweto and other African suburbs of industrial Witwatersrand. More than 600 people, mostly children and adolescents, died under a hail of bullets.

Hundreds of students and workers were detained and thousands left the country. Many young people among them received military training abroad and, back in the Republic of South Africa, joined the armed struggle in the "Lance of the Nation" detachments. The freedom fighters attack important military and economic targets.

The spirit of Soweto lives. The flame of the struggle broke out with new strength last year when African, Indian and colored primary and secondary school students in Cape Province proclaimed another boycott of classes, demanding the abolishment of apartheid in the educational system and equality with white students. This time the racist regime was forced to grant major concessions. At the same time, African workers struck for higher wages in the biggest industrial centers. The strikes were headed by the African trade unions. The scale and depth of these actions proved the qualitative changes which have taken place in the growth of the political awareness of working Africans. Here again the authorities retreated. The discriminatory articles of the 1924 law, which forbid African trade unions to sign collective contracts, were dropped.

Could we be satisfied with these successes? We do not think so. Furthermore, the racist regime itself drives the forces of the national liberation movement to a decisive revolutionary struggle, unwittingly preparing the grounds for the firm alliance between this movement and the communists. In speaking of the theoretical foundations of such an alliance, let us point out that cooperation between the communists and the national liberation movement is one of the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles, clearly stipulated in Lenin's "Theses on the National and Colonial Problems," approved at the Second Comintern Congress. Under specific South African conditions, this means relying on the revolutionary potential of the national liberation movement. That is precisely why the SACP unconditionally supports the struggle for national liberation headed by the ANC, and participates in it actively. The alliance between the communist party and the ANC, based on unity of objectives and strategy, was considerably strengthened after 1960 when this mass organization abandoned its former position of resorting exclusively to nonviolent methods of struggle after it was banned.

Acting on the basis of the recommendations of the Comintern regarding the importance of supporting the struggle for a democratic republic under majority rule, the communist party succeeded in gaining a mass support base among black workers, peasants and intellectuals.

The SACP program stipulates that South Africa is a "special type" colony in which the "oppressing white nation lives in the same country as the peoples it oppresses." They live side by side. Nevertheless, relations between them are those between colonizers and colonial peoples. The liberation of the colonial people can be achieved with a national democratic revolution. The purpose of this revolution is to overthrow the minority regime and break down its political system. It is also called upon to resolve problems related to preparations for the transition from capitalism to socialism.

However, the party does not set as its immediate task the struggle against capitalism, which has assumed a developed form in the Republic of South Africa, although capitalism is the main source of racial discrimination and the main reason for the existence of a color barrier and unrestrained national oppression. The reason for this approach is that, being a "special type" of colonialism, South African colonialism has specific features. They include the existence of a white "workers aristocracy," the influx of African migrant workers into the country and many other factors which prevent the establishment of a stable and mature proletariat. Tribal discord remains among African workers, artificially encouraged by the racist regime by resettling the black population in bantustans and pitting one African against another. Various privileges have been granted not only to the white "workers aristocracy" but, in some areas, to some colored workers and Asiatics. There are also noticeable differences in the social status of the African urban proletariat and the agricultural migrant workers in the reservations. To put it briefly, so far there is no unity among the working people.

The struggle against capital as such will be put on the agenda when the people of the Republic of South Africa realize that their main enemy is the class which has seized all productive capital. This, however, requires, above all, freedom from colonial, racist and national oppression.

In other words, the struggle for socialism at the present stage of development means a struggle against racism and national oppression. In this we have the effective support of all progressive mankind and of the liberated African states. Africa cannot become free as long as white racists rule the south of the continent. The growing power of world socialism, the steady strengthening of anti-imperialist forces, the breakdown of the colonial system and the appearance of the young countries on its ruins and, finally, the increased struggle of our own people against tyranny are all reliable guarantees for our victory.

Our enemy has adopted the so-called "total strategy." He is trying to mount a counteroffensive on all fronts: military, economic, political, cultural and psychological, using all the resources at his disposal. According to this concept, blacks and whites are called to the colors (all white young men are drafted at the age of 17); a powerful armament industry is being developed, including the making of nuclear weapons. The armed forces of the Republic of South Africa invade neighboring countries and the peaceful population of Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and other African countries which oppose racism and apartheid subjected to air raids.

The liberation movement in the Republic of South Africa is aware of the tremendous and varied assistance which the minority regime is receiving from its Western allies, the United States, Great Britain, France and the FRG above all, who are its biggest

trade partners and investors of capital. The fascist-style regime in the Republic of South Africa is trying to play an ever more important role in the militaristic plans of the United States and its NATO allies. The racists supply them with strategic raw materials and grant them naval bases in the Atlantic and Indian oceans.

Therefore, our struggle for liberation from colonial domination and against national oppression, racial discrimination and class exploitation is also a struggle for peace.

It is not surprising that Pretoria's loyal allies block any Security Council resolution calling for decisive sanctions against the racists.

Throughout its entire 60 years of life the communist party has steadfastly followed the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. The communists have realized through practical experience that it is precisely this doctrine that is the key to the understanding of realities and that it expresses the hopes and needs of the oppressed masses in the Republic of South Africa.

Loyalty to the principles of scientific socialism helped the SACP, starting with its early phase, to detect the deviationist trends in the leadership of the PRC, the great-power chauvinism of its leaders and its hegemonistic ambitions. We are greatly concerned by the developing alliance between Beijing and Washington, the negative attitude taken by the Chinese leadership toward the struggle for national liberation in Africa and its steady support of groups which oppose parties and governments friendly to the socialist world.

It has given its active support to the Pan-African Congress (PAC) which split from the ANC. It is helping UNITA and the FNLA--groups which, relying on South African racists and the CIA among others, are engaged in subversive activities against Angola. However, its divisive activities notwithstanding, Beijing has been unable to set up a pro-Maoist movement in the Republic of South Africa itself. Despite the PRC's material and political support, the enemies of the ANC and of the communist party have been unable to disorganize our struggle aimed at the elimination of the apartheid system.

The liberation movement in the Republic of South Africa draws its inspiration and confidence in its victory from the solidarity of the socialist world. Strong ties of friendship dating from the Great October Revolution link us with the land of the soviets. We value very highly the tremendous constructive accomplishments of the Soviet Union and its support of the liberation movements throughout the world.

The proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress and its results strengthened our confidence in the accuracy of the path followed by the SACP and our resolve to continue the struggle allied with the national liberation movement. The delegations of the fraternal parties which attended the congress were deeply impressed by the unity between party and people and the strength of the CPSU. The report by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, CC CPSU general secretary, offered a brilliant comprehensive analysis of the adamant struggle waged by the party and the government for peace throughout the world, a struggle which inspired us to new efforts for the elimination of the racist regime in the Republic of South Africa.

The South African communists are clearly aware of the tasks which face them, such as active participation in the struggle for the national liberation of their people and comprehensive contribution to the people's upsurge, thus urging on the cause of the struggle for socialism and for the final victory of the working class.

FOOTNOTES

1. Before it was banned by the racist authorities in 1950 the party's name was Communist Party of South Africa. In 1953 it was recreated under clandestine conditions as the South African Communist Party (SACP).
2. The Africans and the colored and Indian population of South Africa stubbornly opposed the policy of the minority regime which tried to strengthen and perpetuate the colonial oppression and racial discrimination system. Each of these ethnic groups had its national organization: the African National Congress, founded in 1912; the African Political Organization, the main party of the colored population; and the South African Indian Congress.
3. ANC leaders N. Mandela, G. Mbeki and W. Sisulu are serving life sentences on Robben Island (editor).

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CHRONIC DISEASE OF HEGEMONY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 81 pp 106-117

[Article by R. Bogdanov]

[Text] The development of contemporary international relations and of foreign policy, which naturally includes the foreign policy of the big powers, of world policy as a whole, which seems to be tied in the knot of an historical argument concerning the destinies of war and peace, all such difficult problems which for centuries on end were considered beyond the understanding of the so-called "common man" are close to today's mankind more than ever. They interest and excite the people who are aware of their vital importance to the present and future generations. In the difficult international situation which has developed of late through the fault of imperialism and of the most aggressive forces which are taking the upper hand in imperialist politics, it is particularly important for the peoples of the world to develop and to be able to develop a basically clear and conscious attitude toward what is happening in the world arena and to see the reasons and possible consequences of seemingly unexpected turns taken by such events.

This increased need for familiarity with world politics and for understanding its real reasons, motive forces and patterns is one of the profound reasons for the worldwide interest in and attention paid to the materials of the 26th CPSU Congress. In answering its high purpose and expectations related to it, the congress provided answers to the most topical problems of social life and made available the ideological and political key which opens the notorious diplomatic "secrets."

This key enables us to find the only true solution to the problems threatening mankind, created by the international policy of American imperialism, with its adventurism and readiness to risk the vital interest of mankind for the sake of its selfish objectives. It was natural for this range of problems to hold an important position in the CC CPSU accountability report to the 26th congress, for, as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev said, "It is universally acknowledged that the international situation depends largely on USSR and United States policies." After indicating the prospects for the development of Soviet-American relations with a view to preventing a world war, and carrying further the system of specific proposals for the solution of this problem, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev also provided an exceptionally accurate and profound analysis of the reasons for today's international tension. He proved that they are rooted in some faulty and thoughtless views of American politicians. "They have indeed set themselves the objective of attaining the unattainable: of

erecting a barrier in the way of progressive change in the world and regaining the role of makers of the destinies of nations." Inseparably linked with this is the fact that "imperialist circles think in terms of rule and coercion categories regarding other countries and nations."

What is the meaning and nature of such aspirations today, in the historical time segment in which the 1980s begin? What are the origins and nature? In what specific way is the imperialist aspiration for world domination incompatible with the realities of today's world acting at present? The answers to such questions are needed not only for the sake of helping us to resolve a very topical problem, that of exposing aggressive imperialist intrigues, but also for the sake of proving and substantiating, again and again, the only sensible alternative to them, that which revolutionary humanism is pointing out with all its force at our party's historical congresses.

The aggressive imperialist efforts, which combine the desire for expansion, rule over other nations and reliance on power and on simply coercive methods, are meeting with a decisive and widespread counteraction in the world of the 1980s. What triggered this? The answer to this question could be both long and short. The short answer is that there are in the world immeasurably increased forces of freedom and social progress, whose bulwark is the Soviet Union. The long answer is that this decisive fact is backed by a 60-year long epoch of universal history, inaugurated with the October Revolution. On the eve of this new age V. I. Lenin wrote that "The old world, the world of national oppression, national squabbles or national exclusiveness is countered by the workers with a new world of unity among working people of all nations, a world in which there is no place for even a single privilege or for the slightest possible oppression of man by man" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 23, p 150). The bolsheviks, he said, as though extending this thought further, following the victory of the October Revolution, are developing entirely new international relations which offer the nations the possibility of getting rid of imperialist oppression (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch.," Vol 42, p 107). The young Soviet state converted this principle into a practice in its foreign policy and, on this basis, presented the historical formulation of the question of the reorganization of the entire system of international relations based, above all, on the ideas of peace and equality. Years and decades of struggle were to pass before imperialism was forced to recognize the inevitability of these fundamental ideas of our time, applicable to international relations, before the advent of the 1970s, which entered history as the "decade of detente," which has already practically proved the possibility and fruitfulness of peaceful coexistence among countries regardless of their social system. It also proved not only the possibility but the objective, the natural grounds of detente as well as its basic historical nature, for global development entered a phase which requires new corresponding forms and principles of international relations incompatible with the practice of imperialist diktat.

One year ago, when imperialist reaction was hastening to bury detente, as if chasing its own shadow, the June CC CPSU Plenum confidently stated that the struggle for detente, its preservation and consolidation remains the main task of the foreign policy of the USSR and of all peace-loving forces. The same thought was voiced from the rostrum of the 26th congress in the Central Committee's accountability report, with the awareness of its historical rightness: "...The policy of peaceful

coexistence, drafted by V. I. Lenin himself, is exerting an increasingly determining influence on contemporary international relations. This was most convincingly proved in the 1970s. Life demands fruitful cooperation among all countries for the sake of resolving the peaceful and constructive problems facing each individual nation and all mankind."

Standing behind these assessments and the inflexible conviction which underlies them is an inordinately complex but still clear picture of the ratio among world forces, encompassing their economic, military, political and ideological components. The world of the 1980s rejects violence and the road it lays to domination. It rejects and must reject them consciously through its objective reality and for the sake of its own salvation. The great ideas of equality and peace among nations do not live as ideas only. They are fructified by practical experience of irreducible value.

Are those truths realized and taken into consideration by those circles in the imperialist camp whose policy is based precisely on their opposite? Living reality acquires its own reflection in the mirror of bourgeois political thinking. However, this is a wrong reflection, distorted by the unwillingness to take reality into consideration and to base one's actions on it rather than on the desire to turn it upside down.

Nostalgic complaints on the subject of "American decline," loss of former opportunities, a sudden end to the notorious "American century" and so on are characteristic examples of such a distorted view of the global situation, which has become quite popular of late in American political literature. A clear example of such views extracted from the journal DAEDALUS is cited in the article which Comrade Gus Hall, U. S. Communist Party secretary general, recently published in KOMMUNIST (see No 5, p 114). Unquestionably, he writes, American imperialism has been forced to take into consideration the irreversible changes of its place and role in the contemporary world. It is also true that it considers this a complex and even a painful process. However, a close view of what such changes indeed represent would make clear the thoughtlessness of attempts to stop or turn them back. Furthermore, the understanding of the objective nature of such changes necessarily leads to the conclusion that the counteraction to them, carried out in that same type of aggressive power form, conflicts with the true national interests of the United States.

Those who mourn America's former greatness admit, although in a quite speculative manner, that the historical course of world events cannot be stopped by the will of American imperialism, whether it is a question of relations between the United States and global socialism, the countries in the zone of the national liberation struggle or the area of interimperialist quarrels. Taking as an example the latter, as early as the end of the 1960s Comrade G. Hall metaphorically compared the processes occurring here with the breakdown of a pyramid turned upside down, which had stood on its top ever since the end of World War II, representing American imperialist domination, although at the beginning of the 1970s the reorganization of interimperialist relations had resulted in the establishment of three imperialist "power centers": the United States, Western Europe and Japan. We can confidently state that the even deeper changes created by the increased strength of the global revolutionary process affected other international positions of American imperialism as well.

All of these facts are unquestionable today. Let us particularly note, however, that the changes occurring in the world have not harmed in any way anyone's national interests, including those of the United States, unless, naturally, "national interest" is taken to mean global political and economic expansion supplemented by armed action. The historical meaning of world politics in the 1970s was, in particular, the fact that with all its complexity and meanderings, it provided extremely rich practical experience in the field of international relations based on the principles of peace and equality, i.e., on the broadest possible democratic principles. That is why the very formulation of the question of a restoration of "past grandeur" is historically false and fatal, conflicting with set democratic principles and clashing with their practical implementation. Essentially, this represents a deeply anti-historical declaration of political and social revenge on the part of the biggest imperialist power.

However, it must be acknowledged and we must work from the fact that it is precisely such an attempt that is being undertaken by U. S. imperialism, starting with the present decade, and this precisely also expresses its "answer" to the changed reality of the present world which it is obviously misinterpreting. It is entirely natural that global society, concerned by such actions, draws attention above all to the specific, the practical steps taken by the American administrations which threaten international security. Unquestionably, they will continue to draw the closest possible attention.

It is also clear, however, that however thoughtless and adventurist such actions might be, they are not uncoordinated or random in the least. This makes it even more important to determine the ties which connect them, i.e., the general political concept which governs their immediate and more distant objectives and the ways and means used to achieve them. This, in our view, is precisely the role of the concept of American hegemonism, which is the contemporary, the present form of traditional imperialist political theory and practice. Lenin pointed out that the aspiration to achieve world domination is, briefly stated, the content of American policy, the extension of which, he pointed out, is the imperialist war (see "Poln. Soch.," Vol 30, p 85). Naturally, the specific historical circumstances of our time have given substantial characteristic features to age-old imperialist hegemonism. However, they have not changed its antipeople's or antidemocratic nature. Furthermore, attempts to adapt hegemonism to the realities of our time merely emphasize its incompatibility with the requirements of the time and its hopeless anachronism.

Hegemonism has always been the source of international conflicts and wars; let us consider yet once again Lenin's remark to the effect that it is essentially the striving for global domination that leads to the outbreak of imperialist wars. One of its trends, found in hegemonism--the gravitation toward and preparation for war--is more than sufficient today to reveal the significance of the USSR initiative, which was embodied in the United Nations General Assembly resolution "On the Inadmissibility of a Policy of Hegemonism in International Relations." Matters do not stop there. While imperialism was still sole master of world politics, the existence of hegemonistic competitive grounds for the great powers was considered a norm of international relations, as long as they did not lead to war. However, these times are gone forever. As the United Nations resolution states, the aspiration to control or subordinate to oneself other states and countries and to restrict their equality and sovereign freedom to choose their own political system and achieve their own social

development, all of these essential characteristics of hegemonism, do not properly belong to the contemporary world. "The time has come," Comrade A. A. Gromyko, CC CPSU Politburo member and USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs said, for all United Nations members to take an unequivocal position toward hegemonism: to condemn it and to block any attempts at hegemonism in global affairs. Its inadmissibility should be raised to the level of a principle which must be strictly observed."

More sharply than on any other occasion, the incompatibility between hegemonism and the reality of today's world is emphasized, in a sharp contrast, by the hegemonistic aspirations of American imperialism. This can be explained in at least two ways. First, the historical origins and characteristics of American hegemonism and, secondly, the extremely aggressive and broad scale of its present theory and practice.

This history of American imperialism must be discussed not for the sake of academic interest. It is a living and very durable history, in the full meaning of the term. The desire to expand, conquer, dominate and gain economic, political, military and even spiritual supremacy has literally imbued the 200 years of existence of the American state. An inseparable feature of this aspiration which has also been a permanent part of history is the idea or, rather, the myth of the "American exclusivity," something which would give the United States the moral right to rule other nations. Specific political objectives and means may have varied but the aspiration itself toward U. S. international hegemony acquired even greater strength and scope and was enriched by an increasing number of arguments. True, they were always backed by an essentially single argument: reliance on one's power and readiness to use it even if justification for doing so is no more convincing than today's references to U. S. "national interests," which encompass just about the entire world. Therefore, force alone or, more specifically, force as it was understood and assessed by the theoreticians and practical workers of American expansion, was the only element which could restrict hegemonistic aspirations. This was a topic of abundant argument in the United States.

It is a fact, however, that in the confrontation among the various foreign policy "schools," among which the realistic, the critical approach has always held an important position, the trend toward expansion and hegemony, based on power and conservative in nature, traditionally assumed the upper hand. It was only its failures that forced its dug-in strategists to stand aside for a while and to make a necessarily soberer assessment of their possibilities and of international reality. However, the trend itself toward global domination remained and reappeared with each generation of American politicians. The weight of its 200 years is clearly apparent in the actions of the current generation.

Before discussing this, however, let us briefly describe the historical characteristics of American hegemonism which determine its current aspect. This is important for the reason alone that they are closely related to the characteristics of the entire history of American capitalism, in which the Marxist-Leninist classics so convincingly proved the existence of the fullest and most vivid manifestation of the basic laws of capitalist development, particularly at its imperialist stage, which were no exception to the rule. Therefore, the Marxist-Leninist concept of American capitalism already thoroughly exposed the groundlessness of the myth of "American exclusivity."

Meanwhile, a great variety of arguments has been and is being cited in support of this chauvinistic idea. It has been substantiated by the claim that the United States is a model of socioeconomic development, a model of democracy, a model of peacefulness, a model of respect for other nations (allegedly because of noninvolvement in the colonial plunder committed by the great powers) and, finally, by citing all kinds of moralizing arguments, including the semimystical messianic ideas of "clear predetermination," "manifest destiny," and so on. "Americans have long become accustomed to thinking," notes American sociologist P. Berger, "that they have been assigned the special mission of saving the world." H. Commager, the noted U. S. historian, explains that Americans have always "nurtured an uncritical and unquestioning belief that they live in the best of all possible worlds....To them the moral superiority of their country was self-evident."

One could only specify that, as applied to politics, such moralizing, coming from a puritanism as inhuman as it is hypocritical, converted within the country into "witch hunting," while in the international arena it appeared as Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points," which concealed behind a moralistic facade a shameless program for American global domination. The fact that this messianic tradition of "the cross and the sword" has not been abandoned is confirmed by the relatively recent experience with McCarthyism and the very recent notorious campaign "in defense of human rights," during which the United States intended to assume the position of "moral policeman" of the world. As the American writer J. Petras notes, "The new moralism is not new in the least and the morality it contains is not its main point. Its purpose is the restoration of U. S. hegemony."

From the viewpoint of contemporary experience it may seem simply paradoxical that the arguments cited in favor of "American exclusivity" may be given any kind of serious consideration. However, something else must be emphasized as well: They are exposed not only by today's practice of American imperialism but by its history as well. American researcher W. Lafebre concludes his article characteristically entitled "The Empire Begins Within the Country" (i.e., with the elimination of the Indians and the enslavement of the blacks) by stating with full justification that "ever since its birth the United States has been an interventionist power." According to George Marion, a progressive journalist, U. S. expansion began immediately as the country gained international recognition, while expansionist plans actually preceded the gaining of independence. This is not a literary metaphor.

While the "founding fathers" of the American state were discussing the Declaration of Independence, they had sent their armed detachments to conquer neighboring Canada. As early as 1803 the United States doubled its territory with the acquisition of Louisiana. It is noteworthy that, 100 years later, in the ceremonies marking the event, President Theodore Roosevelt bluntly stated that "We proved then, once and for all, that we are deliberately following the path of expansion." Let us add that this was done mainly through the force of arms. Contrary to the popular legend of the "peaceful development" of the United States, the official publication "History of the American Army" lists 114 wars which the United States waged in the 19th century alone, including the 1846-1848 war with Mexico, as a result of which the United States took two-thirds of Mexico's territory away.

Still, territorial expansion is only one of the aspects of U. S. hegemonistic aspirations. Claims to global domination which, at that time, meant above all rivalry with

Britain, "the ruler of the seas," led the United States into oceanic expansion, initially with a view to establishing its rule over the Pacific Ocean for the sake of making it, in the American idiom, "an internal lake" of the United States, followed by the domination of the Atlantic. It was no accident that the seizure by the United States of the islands of Hawaii and the Philippines and the outbreak of the war with Spain in 1898 turned it into the first country openly to begin a struggle for the redivision of an already divided world. Obviously, it is no accident that Admiral A. T. Meaghan, the "theoretician" of naval power as a political instrument, became the most extreme and militant advocate of the ideology of U. S. global domination. "Ruling the sea means a ruling position in the world," was his main thought which was practically applied in the building of the biggest navy in the world, "capable," as American historian S. Bryant explained, "of assuming control over any ocean in the world." Let us add, in anticipating the story, that decades later American hegemomists accepted with an equal enthusiasm, as the twin of the naval doctrine of aggression, the theory of the "air war," related, in the United States, to General W. Mitchell, who believed that the use of aviation as an offensive weapon is effective only "on a global scale"! Let us point out that this idea did not disappear with its author: it was precisely on its basis that the formula of the military doctrine adopted by American imperialism after World War II arose: "In the same way that the battleship was the weapon of the British world, the airplane will become the weapon of the American world."

What was meant in this case by airplane was the strategic air force armed with nuclear weapons. In this respect the global scale of American ambitions was revealed with unparalleled clarity. Here is one confirmation of this, a statement ascribed to Herbert Hoover, former U. S. President: "As long as we and we alone have the atom bomb we can dictate our policy to the rest of the world."

The train of such considerations and estimates could be extended easily by recalling the network of military bases, the ever-new types of mass destruction weapons, the setting up of a worldwide network of military blocs and many others. These were assessments based on armed force, its technical components above all,¹ i.e., it was reliance on the quantity and effectiveness of armaments and views on how to use them to conquer the earth.

Naturally, the instrumentarium of U. S. hegemonistic policy was not exhausted by armaments, although the role ascribed to them was unquestionable. The aspiration to gain global domination imbues the entire political theory and practice of American imperialism.

The United States subordinated its foreign economic policy to this objective like no other country. Clear proof of this is found in the age-old American formula which was put in circulation by President Taft, "dollar diplomacy." The facts related to this case are too well known to be repeated. No one expressed better not the

1. Such emphasis on military technical means, traditionally typical of U. S. military doctrine, confirms, among other things, the country's traditional weakness in terms of armed forces personnel and uncertainty as to their reliability. It was not an accident that Senator R. Kennedy admitted that "We cannot rely on the fact that people will risk their lives and submissively suffer privations unless they are interested in the preservation of their own system."

peaceful but the violent sense and worldwide hegemonistic trend more frankly than the American hegemonists themselves. Here is an example: "We will be the first nation in history which will not only carry out tremendous undertakings in financial leadership but will also aspire to absolute military supremacy on land, at sea and in the air."

No less expository are cases taken from American history which refute one of the most durable myths of the imperialist defenders: the U. S. noninvolvement in colonial plunder. As early as the turn of the century American historian Foster Rhee Dulles pointed out that "The United States has always censured imperialism while building its own empire."

As to the specific features, traits and means used in the colonial tactics of American imperialism, they do not change the essence of the matter but rather conceal it, judging, for example, by the statements of O. Lattimore, a quite prestigious researcher in his time: "We Americans," he wrote, in a survey of the first half of the 20th century, "tend to be pharisaic toward democratic countries (i.e., Western mother countries--the author), whose colonial possessions were of greater importance to them than they would be to us. However, we are only kidding ourselves. The truth is that we have always been an inseparable part, a very important part economically, of the entire democratic-nondemocratic complex of the Western democracies and their colonial possessions. To say that we are part of this complex is not enough. We firmly believe in the rightfulness of our demands within its framework. We express these demands, using the phraseology of our 'open door' policy not only toward China but toward all areas on earth wherever we have been able to assert our requirements of equal access and equal opportunity, while thoroughly avoiding equal responsibility."

Added to everything else, this expressive proof leaves no doubt that in the epoch of imperialism the entire world became the target of American hegemonism.

Looking back at earlier decades, we can only admire the perspicacity with which the Bolshevik Party noted and assessed this trend, which was only beginning to develop at that time. In August 1917, the Sixth RSDWP(b) Congress entered in its resolution the following: "A new imperialist giant and pretender to world hegemony has appeared on the stage--America."

U. S. imperialism was unsuccessful in the implementation of its plan on the basis of World War I results. Perhaps the most characteristic feature which became apparent in this attempt, other than the intention to outwit the European powers, was aiming the main strike at bolshevism, furious anti-Sovietism, readiness literally to break the young Soviet republic apart, to dismember Russia and to separate from it the Ukraine, Belorussia, the Baltic area, the Caucasus, Crimea and Central Asia. It was precisely this, wild though it might seem, that Wilson's "Fourteen Points" called for. The United States made its second attempt of this kind at the end of World War II as well, but with incomparably greater strength. Variations and practical attempts to impose Pax Americana and create a global empire ruled by the United States followed one after another, once again galvanized, the moment the American powers that be began to believe that they would be strong enough to redo the world to suit them. To extend this metaphor, we could say that such attempts, whether at the Bay of Pigs or the jungles of Indochina, inevitably ended with painful "electric shocks" without reviving something unacceptable to life.

Although viewed as a stagnant anachronism from the viewpoint of today's global politics, nevertheless hegemonism has not been discarded. It is continuing to poison the minds of influential U. S. political circles, and its poison becomes more potent the more contemporary means--military, political and ideological--are placed in its service. It is noteworthy that today's recurrence of hegemonism, a kind of Pax Americana syndrome which might have seemed to be filed in the archives, is accompanied by the biggest aggravation of the most dangerous traditions of hegemonism, which are out of place in the contemporary world.

This irrelevance is due to the existence of the nuclear factor which the contemporary hegemonists, blinded by a visceral anticommunism, tend either to ignore or significantly to belittle from the viewpoint of its catastrophic effect on the destinies of mankind and on civilization itself.

Such adventurism in terms of the nuclear factor encourages the liking which some American circles have for a military solution of disputes and conflicts, intensifies the atmosphere of stress and uncertainty, destabilizes the "limits of the permissible," based on international experience, and encourages the use of nuclear weapons. It is a question mainly of reliance on naked force, on the prime intention to disturb the ratio of forces which has developed between the countries belonging to the two different social systems in favor of capitalism and, in particular, to destroy the approximate military-strategic parity existing between the USSR and the United States. Hence the course charted by American imperialism of increasing the armament race and the attempt of the United States and NATO to gain military superiority for the sake of imposing their diktat and interfering in the affairs of the socialist and other independent countries. "The common denominator of this entire hegemonistic and imperialistic concept is the policy 'From a Position of Strength,' a policy of the arms race which is paid for with increasing dozens of billions of dollars (as much as \$157 billion in 1981)," Comrade B. N. Ponomarev, CC CPSU Politburo candidate member and CC CPSU secretary, notes. "The hegemonistic 'philosophy' of American imperialism, serving the interests of the military-industrial complex, proceeds from the cynical principle that what is needed or considered needed by the United States (the so-called 'vital interests') must be good enough for anyone else; military power or economic and any other type of pressure will be used against those who disagree."

Once again the words and actions of the United States administration are dominated by themes which reflect an aspiration to gain global hegemony by a return to the cold war. A particularly alarming aspect is the fact that the opponents of detente and the stooges of the military-industrial complex are once again beginning to discuss the possibility of victory in a global nuclear missile war and the conditions under which the American military could initiate and win such a war.

The new recurrence of the global ambitions of U. S. imperialist circles is clear proof of loss of political balance and unwillingness to adapt to the new situation in the world and to changed norms of international relations, for, as academician G. A. Arbatov has pointed out, "Despite a lengthy period of detente, the U. S. ruling class was never able entirely to reject previous global domination claims and the cold war."

It was precisely in this area that the inertia of political thinking and obsolete ideological prejudices and hegemonistic traditions of the mythology of "American exclusivity" with its typical "double standard"--claims to Messianism, supremacy over the rest of the world and the unwillingness to understand the other side and the

characteristics of cultures, customs, social systems and national and all other traditions of other countries and peoples, firmly embedded in the mind of the petit bourgeois, become apparent. Furthermore, we see here quite clearly the pressure of anticommunist stereotypes and the cold war mentality. "Long years of cold war have left their mark not only on the minds of professional politicians. Such marks are prejudice, suspicion, and poor knowledge of and even unwillingness to find out the true positions and possibilities of others," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out in this respect.

The tenacity of ideological stereotypes of anticommunism, created by the cold war, is found in its claim to provide a simple solution to the complex problems of our time and literally to impose them on the ordinary mind. No need to think or seek difficult solutions: the overt enemy is communism and it is the source of all troubles. The obvious danger of this type of logic can be seen by many soberly-thinking Western observers. "Complex situations in distant countries are considered through the ideological lens and frequently distorted by prefabricated interpretations which take the place of an objective analysis. Frequently, wherever knowledge is required prejudice rules," writes with concern American historian O. Clabb in discussing the ruinous influence of the cold war atmosphere on U. S. policy.

"Myths grow like weeds and, unlike facts, need no care," noted recently C. Marcy, one of the leaders of the American Committee for East-West Agreement, an organization which promotes detente and the normalizing of Soviet-American relations. Such dangerous myths and prejudices include the "cult of power," quite widespread in American society, something which the Americans themselves rather coarsely describe as "toughness," which has long nurtured jingoist and chauvinistic trends in American politics. "The opinion exists in our country that any event is a test of American will and resolve. A certain attachment exists for a kind of dictatorial style in international diplomacy, a yearning for big sticks and heroic strikes at the world bossed by American sheriffs and police chiefs....," writes S. Hoffman, a noted American historian and international affairs theoretician.

Speaking of the profound reasons for the present turn to power hegemonism in the policies of the present administration in Washington and of American imperialism as a whole, we must recall once again Lenin's warning about the inclination of the "reactionary-bourgeois" forces to militaristic adventures. The antidetente campaign mounted in the West by imperialist forces and the malicious anti-Soviet campaign launched mainly in the United States are all manifestations of irritation and discontent caused by the further strengthening of the defense, economic and political power of socialism, the broadened scale of the national liberation struggle of the peoples, the successes achieved by the forces supporting peace and the normalizing of the international situation and, finally, the worsening of the general crisis within the capitalist system and its weakening, also caused by objective reasons.

Understandably, all of these new militaristic and interventionist preparations made by the reactionary circles of American imperialism afflicted by the chronic ill of hegemonism but bent on restoring the irrevocably lost U. S. military superiority and domination of the world, are not ignored by more or less realistically thinking Americans. Thus, currently some American authors have voiced the opinion that the foreign policy of the United States for the 1980s has literally backtracked to the hegemonistic adventures and militaristic interventions of the 1960s. Naturally, the danger of repeating the past does exist. However, the analogies in this case are rather farfetched.

Actually, today as well claims to American global domination are concealed behind the myth of the "Soviet military threat." The sound of the cold war drum is heard, calling for more armaments and increased American power for the sake of "saving the West." "Without the strengthening of American power Western civilization cannot survive," prophesies the self-appointed oracle and well-known American "hawk," J. Schlesinger, former Secretary of Defense. Nevertheless, unlike the situation of the 1950s and 1960s, when the imposition of the American diktat could be concealed behind the demagogic intention of saving the entire "Western community" (i.e., capitalism), today priority is given to a far more pragmatic thesis: "defense of U. S. national interests," used to conceal attempts at hegemony and a bent for unrestrained expansion.

When today's leaders in the American administration slip into the anticommunist rhetoric of the cold war period and call for protecting the "bulwark of freedom" in the West from "international terrorism" and "global communist conspiracy," they are serving their own selfish interests above all.

As Comrade G. Hall justifiably pointed out, "The only real threat to our national security and national interests and, furthermore, to our very existence is of a domestic nature and comes from the reborn hawks and cold war supporters in the White House and the Pentagon, who are earnestly trying to turn back the clock to the time of the cold war."

Essentially, the concealment of global expansion behind U. S. "national interests" exposes the very essence of the hegemonistic policy of American imperialism, i.e., the aspiration to become the dictator of the world or, at least, of the nonsocialist part of the planet. Such is precisely its objective and it is hardly a secret that it has remained unattainable despite the exceptional conditions which developed after World War II, not only as a result of the opposition of its imperialist rivals but above all, thanks to the existence of the Soviet Union, the establishment of the global socialist system and the general upsurge of the liberation struggle. It is precisely for this reason, unable to surmount this obstacle, that U. S. imperialism is racking its brains on how to cope with it by increasing the arms race and expanding areas of armed conflict along the perimeter of world socialism, in turn and simultaneously arguing that communism is the main threat facing mankind and that communism has become obsolete and that one should and allegedly could remove it from the game. However, since this view proved quite clearly its groundlessness over the past decades, is the extent to which it is adventuristic and thoughtless not clear today?

Therefore, the purpose of all such maneuvers is to draw the attention away from a number of truly new features in today's strategy of the struggle waged by American imperialism for global domination.

First, this includes the obvious increase in the pressure exerted on the Western European allies of the United States, the desire to subjugate them and force them to show their "Atlantic solidarity," regardless of their wish, to involve its partners in the unleashed anti-Soviet race and with their help to become a "global leader." Today widespread doubts exist in Western Europe regarding the leading role of the United States, the competence and consistency of its policies and its ability to understand not only its enemies but its allies. On the contrary, they are becoming ever more firmly convinced that the United States is displaying intolerance,

is unwilling to tolerate objections and is inclined to see a "potential deserter" in every Western European. More than 30 years ago, when NATO was founded, American hegemony seemed unquestionable to U. S. allies. Today the allies are hardly in a hurry to sacrifice detente, the results of which are most tangible on the European continent, or their own interests for the sake of the insistent demand "to equal Uncle Sam." The response of U. S. imperialist circles to such changes is increased pressure on its allies, twisting their arms, terrorizing and threatening them and violating even the accepted norms of bourgeois diplomacy.

Since hopes for substantial support by its allies in restoring "Pax Americana" are steadily dashed by acts of "disobedience," severe shouts on the other side of the Atlantic notwithstanding, American imperialism is persistently looking for new accomplices. China, whose present leadership nurtures no lesser hegemonistic ambitions, willingly responded to its call.

Therefore, the second new aspect in the strategy of American hegemonism is the desire to make use of Beijing's anti-Soviet course and to play "the Chinese trump." The "Chinese trump" is an eloquent proof of the weakness of U. S. imperialism, which has not been fated to rule the world alone and, therefore, is trying to recruit allies, not balking at taking even the most unprincipled steps. Let us add to this that even those political circles in the United States which could hardly be suspected of nurturing any sympathy for socialism and the USSR have issued warnings regarding the danger of today's American-Chinese "romance" and that China's real objectives do not include in the least ensuring American global domination. The latest American-Chinese deal, concluded as a result of the visit which the U. S. secretary of state paid to Beijing, particularly underscored the legitimacy of such fears and revealed the provocative nature of the conspiracy.

The third new feature which characterizes the current round in the struggle waged by American imperialism for global hegemony is the ever new obstacles which are arising on its way, including that of economics. In the 1970s the West developed a clear political conviction that, as a whole, it was impossible to resolve the very serious crisis problems facing the economy of the United States and the global economy at large through the further escalation of the arms race and by circumventing detente. However, in the face of such problems, today's U. S. administration has chosen a different, an antipeople's and antisocialist way, calling for "tightening one's belt" and accepting the sacrifices involved in the pursuit of "world leadership." This, strictly speaking, is the essence of the new economy program of Washington's administration. Understandably, such appeals are addressed to the American working people, who are asked to assume the heavy burden of military expenditures and who are being frightened in all possible ways by the mythical "Soviet military threat."

Put together, these new aspects emphasize particularly strongly the inappropriate and futile hegemonistic aspirations of American imperialism and the full extent of the threat they present today. "...The more the imperialist possibility of ruling other countries and nations is curtailed," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev pointed out, "the more fiercely its most aggressive and shortsighted representatives react. Such aggressiveness can be contained only by the power and the sensible policy of the peace loving countries and the resolve of the peoples to defeat the dangerous plans of the pretenders to global domination."

With unquestionable clarity the 26th CPSU Congress expressed the conviction of our party and of all Soviet people that this objective can and must be reached.

The 1980s can and must become the second decade of detente, whose main purpose is to give a new impetus to the positive accomplishments of the preceding period.

The 1980s can and must become a period of essential progress in securing a durable peace and in the struggle against all chronic hegemonistic ambitions of imperialism. The Soviet Union is countering military hysteria and the feverish arms race with a further development of the struggle for peace and security on earth and for equality among countries and nations. "We shall continue to spare no effort to preserve detente and everything good that happened in the 1970s, make a turn to disarmament and support the right of nations to free and independent development, and to safeguard and strengthen peace," Comrade L. I. Brezhnev emphasized.

The uncompromising exposure of and struggle for the elimination of all manifestations of the chronic ill of hegemonism in international relations plays an important role in the implementation of these tasks.

5003

CSO: 1802/18

FROM THE HISTORY OF THE ESTATE-REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS IN ANCIENT RUSSIA

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 81 pp 118-120

[Review by Doctor of Historical Sciences S. Shmidt of the book by L. V. Cherepnin "Zemskiye Sobory Russkogo Gosudarstva v XVI-XVII Vv." [Zemstvo Assemblies in the Russian State in the 16th-17th Centuries]. Nauka, Moscow, 1978, 417 pp]

[Text] The zemstvo assemblies were a noteworthy feature of the Russian governmental structure, from the reign of Ivan the Terrible to the infancy of Peter the Great. This was also a period during which the power of the Russian tsars was strengthened and of the gradual establishment of absolutism as a form of the feudal kingdom. This was also a period of mass popular disturbances--mutinies in the cities and peasant wars in the "rebellious" 17th century, of the enslavement of the peasants and the strengthening of national and economic relations.

A great deal has been written on the history of the central estate-representative institutions--the zemstvo assemblies--in prerevolutionary Russia. However, such publications have been mainly in the style of political journalism. An interest in this topic developed as a result of the sociopolitical moods which prevailed in the second half of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. It was hoped that the reestablishment of zemstvo assemblies would change or, conversely, retain the autocratic governmental system. The ideologs of the ruling classes promoted in such works the idea of unity between tsar and nation, of direct contacts between them and of the above-class state and the common concern of all property-owning classes for the people's welfare and of the idea that as early as the 16th and 17th centuries the ancestors of the Russian bourgeoisie had already participated in the administration of the state. The history of the zemstvo assemblies was thickly wrapped in such historiographic legends. Many contemporary foreign authors, who happened to deal with this topic one way or another, also think most frequently in terms of such categories of obsolete historical concepts.

The idea of convening a zemstvo assembly or a zemstvo дума, i.e., of some sort of central representative assembly, was popular among progressive social circles, particularly among the Decembrists, especially at the outbreak of the first revolutionary situation (and of the 1850s-beginning of the 1860s), as confirmed by numerous sociopolitical works. Despite their great vagueness, for quite some time they remained part of the ideological arsenal of various social groups dissatisfied with autocracy. A particularly large number of works on the zemstvo assemblies appeared at the turn of the century, when the question of convening the State Duma was being

discussed. The greatest historians and jurists deemed it necessary to publish pamphlets and articles on the history of zemstvo assemblies. This topic was also reflected in VPERED, the bolshevik newspaper, in 1905. It was V. I. Lenin who edited the article "The Zemstvo Assembly and Our Politics," which described the basic features in the history of zemstvo assemblies. V. I. Lenin edited the article heavily. Thus, the initial draft stated that representatives of the nobility, the merchant class, the posadniks and even the peasants were included. Lenin substituted the words "prosperous peasantry" for "peasants." This is a very important specification, for bourgeois literature of that time frequently described the participation of peasants in zemstvo assemblies (starting with the 17th century). The zemstvo assemblies, therefore, were depicted as representative organs of the entire population, whereas in fact they represented the interests of the social upper crust only.

The history of the zemstvo assemblies drew the attention of the scientists under the Soviet system as well (particularly in the 1930s-1940s). However, the re-evaluation of this topic is the result of studies conducted in recent decades. Particularly important on this level was the summarizing article by Academician M. N. Tikhomirov entitled "Estate-Representative Institutions (Zemstvo Assemblies) in 16th Century Russia" (1958). Other works on this topic were written by other scientists as well. The history of the zemstvo assemblies was studied in connection with the history of the class struggle, the development of urban estates and the appearance of other governmental institutions. L. V. Cherepnin turned to the topic of the zemstvo assemblies in the 16th and 17th centuries in articles published at home and abroad in the 1960s and 1970s. In the final years of his life the academician tried, for the first time in Soviet historical literature, to sum up within a monograph data and studies of zemstvo assemblies. He considered his new book as the direct continuation of his previous monograph "Obrazovaniye Russkogo Tsentralizovannogo Gosudarstva v XIV-XV Vekakh" [Establishment of the Russian Centralized State in the 14th-15th Centuries] (Moscow, 1960).

The latest book by this noted Soviet historian is a work of essays, each of which is the study of a separate topic. The tasks which the author set himself are listed in the introduction. The essay "Historiography and Sources. Methodology and Method" sums up data found in Russian prerevolutionary, in Soviet and in foreign literature on the study of the literature of zemstvo assemblies, indicating, in a way, the line followed in his research.

Above all, the author has tried to give us the fullest possible history of the zemstvo assemblies. This is based on the available documentary sources, for we have only fragments of documents of zemstvo assemblies, particularly of the 16th century. Furthermore, the terminology they use is not quite clear. The method is clearly defined: "From the source (and wherever possible, the archive where the source is stored) to the fact and to the historical phenomenon" (p 3). The book is not only a historical study but also a study of historical sources. This approach to the topic and the definition of the extent to which sources on zemstvo assemblies are complete and accurate are mandatory prerequisites for the study of their actual history and for defining their sociological position in the political organization of the feudal society.

Most of the book consists of essays in which the author describes in chronological sequence all zemstvo assemblies. In addition to the recreation of a specific

picture of the activities of the individual zemstvo assemblies, the author undertakes to "trace the evolution of the zemstvo assembly as an organ of estate representation and the changes of its forms and nature as a result of the development of the Russian sociopolitical system" (p 4). The author's starting point is clear: The zemstvo assemblies were not institutions which developed firmly all at once (as believed by some researchers in the past and presently), but developing institutions; the structure of the zemstvo assembly and its role in sociopolitical life changed "at the different stages of the centralized state." The author makes an attempt to compare Russian zemstvo assemblies with estate-representative institutions in other European countries in order to bring up both the common and the specific aspects in their development and make some observations and summations.

By the end of the 15th century the grand duke of Muscovy became the master of "all Rus'" and Moscow became the capital of a big and increasingly centralized Russian state (the word "Rossiya" began to be used starting with the end of the 15th century, and the term "Russian state" (or "kingdom") was more popular than the "Rus' state"). At that point national problems were being discussed not only by the "duma" of nobility councils but by representatives of "the entire land," of "all Rus'." The expanded conferences between the ruler and the representatives of the various estates of the ruling feudal class (laic and clerical) and of the various parts of the state confirmed a higher degree of centralization. This was an essential prerequisite in the formation of the zemstvo assemblies. They could appear and consolidate only with the development of the Russian centralized estate, and their purpose was to counter the separatism of the individual areas and the restoration of the traditions of feudal fragmentation.

Naturally, in a state inhabited by antagonistic classes the zemstvo assemblies were a structural part of the apparatus for the domination of the people in the interests of the ruling strata (see p 36). Their development as more or less regularly functioning institutions of governmental administration was related to the aggravation of the class struggle. The zemstvo assemblies of the mid-16th century were born in the flames of the class war, following the 1547 Moscow uprising and the mass actions in other cities. They opposed the Russian town assemblies of the "black people." The uprising of the lower strata of town and country forced the feudal lords and the mercantile upper crust to halt temporarily their feuding and to join forces in pursuit of a policy which would strengthen the state power. The opinion of prerevolutionary scientists notwithstanding, there was not even a question of any "reconciliation" between the tsar or the feudal lords and the people at such assemblies. On the contrary, the assemblies were convened for the sake of combining the forces of the ruling classes opposing the demands of the masses. This was quite obvious at the beginning of the zemstvo assemblies, in the mid-16th century, and after the mass urban uprisings in Moscow and other cities in European Russia and Siberia, with the meeting of the 1649 assembly at which the institution of serfdom was ratified with the assembly code.

At the same time, particularly in periods of aggravated relations between Russia and other countries, the zemstvo assemblies were also an expression of the national interests. They helped in the strengthening of national integrity and state independence and in joining efforts to oppose foreign aggressors. The zemstvo assemblies also offered a certain opportunity for expressing views opposing the government. In the period of foreign intervention, at the beginning of the 17th century, the assemblies

convened by the members of the people's militia became the supreme legislative and executive powers and played a major role in foreign and domestic policy and in rallying the forces to combat foreign invasion. It was precisely then that the "council of all lands" (as the zemstvo assemblies were known in that period) "played the biggest and most aggressive role in social life" (p 387).

The overall conclusions and observations have been summed up in the final part of the work. This part deals with the number of assemblies, their classification and time breakdown and problems of estate representation. It covers topics such as "Zemstvo Assemblies and the Autocracy," "Zemstvo Assemblies and the People," "Zemstvo Assemblies and Problems of Feudal Ideology," "Zemstvo Assemblies and the International Position of the Russian State" and "Zemstvo Assemblies and Estate-Representative Institutions of Other European Medieval Countries."

The problem of "Zemstvo Assemblies and Local Estate Institutions" should have been discussed separately. The zemstvo assemblies and estate institutions developed synchronously, like branches of the same tree. The local estate institutions and their development reflected even more clearly than the zemstvo assemblies the changes in the socioeconomic and political status of the nobility--the main group of the feudal class--and of the urban citizens (the "posazhan"--the inhabitants of a posad [trading quarter]) and, in the northern parts of Russia, of the prosperous peasants.

It was the duty of the zemstvo assembly (or zemstvo council) to resolve problems affecting the entire "land," related to governmental developments (ascension to the throne or election of the tsar, discussion and adoption of most important reforms and legislative judicial regulations) and the defense of the foreign interests of the state.

L. V. Cherepnin has attempted to determine the period during which the known zemstvo assemblies were operative and has drawn a list of them (about 60). We cannot agree with all of his considerations governing the inclusion (or exclusion) of one or another assembly in that list, for in the mid-16th century they were convened, apparently, more frequently than the author assumes (he himself discussed that subject in a previous work). It is clear, however, that the zemstvo assemblies met frequently (almost permanently in the 1610 period). Their activities were characteristic of the type of state administration of that time. Also noteworthy is the fact that tsarism was not interested in expanding the functions of the zemstvo assemblies and turning them into permanent institutions endowed with specific legislative functions. As the author convincingly proves, the zemstvo assemblies "were not an accidental, a borrowed institution in Russia. They were an organic phenomenon of Russian life" (p 391).

Comparisons have long been made between zemstvo assemblies and estate-representative institutions in other European countries. Such comparisons lead to the idea that this was a phenomenon of the same nature, obeying the general laws of historical development, although, naturally, each country had its specific characteristics. The surface similarities among such institutions are confirmed by foreign contemporaries who considered the zemstvo assemblies as being the same as the estate-representative institutions in their own countries. Current definitive works and, particularly, reports submitted at international congresses of historians, discuss the history of zemstvo assemblies as part of the study of the basic problems of estate representation (this is indicated also by the fact that the deceased L. V. Cherepnin was vice-president of the International Commission on the History of Parliamentary and Representative Institutions).

In comparing zemstvo assemblies with European estate-representative institutions, the author notes that "It is rather a question of the approach to this problem than of its resolution. The difficulties here are many: the tremendous amount of data from the different countries, their specific historical features, the different use of the comparative method by historians (synchronous or life stage) and others" (p 4). Estate-representative institutions appeared at different times in the different countries. As a rule, the process of their development was complex and lengthy. Nor was there uniformity in the organization itself of estate representation (the manner in which representatives were elected, the division into "chambers," the length and periodic nature of the meetings and so on). However, the functions of these institutions were alike. We can now consider it confirmed that this kind of governmental institution was typical of the European monarchies of the late middle ages.

Another common feature was the fact that dependent or poor people were usually not allowed to participate in the activities of zemstvo assemblies. Assemblies were set up whenever the sociopolitical role of a strengthening bureaucracy had become quite definite (in Russia this bureaucracy consisted of the scribes, the "petty officials") and the nobility who, to a certain extent, were already opposing the feudal aristocracy and the urban upper crust (mainly the merchant class, known sometimes in the West as the urban patricians). The central estate-representative institutions, both in Russia and other European countries, did not hinder in the least the development of absolutism. On the contrary, they were among the accompanying characteristics of its establishment and, sometimes, its intensive development.

The work by academician L. V. Cherepnin not only sums up the accomplishments in the study of zemstvo assemblies but opens further ways for the study of this problem in close connection with other phenomena in domestic and world history.

5003

CSO: 1802/18

JOURNAL'S MAIL: JANUARY-JUNE 1981

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 11, Jul 81 pp 121-128

[Text] In the first half of the year KOMMUNIST received more than 1,500 pieces of correspondence, including articles, essays, reviews and notes, 252; answers to the journal's publications, 399; questions, suggestions and wishes addressed to the editors, 314; and citizens' statements, petitions and complaints, 544.

The variety of the mail was determined by the preparations for the noteworthy event in the life of the communist party and the Soviet people: the 26th CPSU Congress, its proceedings and the historical resolutions it passed. Several topics on which most of our correspondents focused their attention can be singled out: the international situation and the foreign political course of the CC CPSU and the Soviet governments; the improvement of economic management methods; problems of training cadres for the national economy and their ideological and moral upbringing; and letters exposing a variety of shortcomings with a view to their elimination.

The editors received numerous suggestions and remarks in the course of the nationwide discussion of the draft CC CPSU guidelines "Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1981-1985 and the Period Through 1990." The suggestions of 63 comrades were reflected in the first three issues of KOMMUNIST for this year, while the balance were properly submitted to the CC CPSU for its information. The discussion of the draft guidelines was a significant practical manifestation of socialist democracy, which guarantees the right to all USSR citizens to participate in the formulation of the economic, social and political programs for the development of society and the state.

During and after the congress the editors received many letters from workers, kol-khoz members and national economy specialists, expressing their thoughts regarding their communist party and its heroic history, and the role and place of the CPSU in the life of the Soviet people and of all mankind.

The thoughts and feelings of the Soviet people were well expressed in the letter of M. Kafarov, a teacher in Kirovabad, Azerbaijan SSR. He pointed out that in its nearly 80-year history our Leninist party has accomplished so many great things for the good of the working people that it would be impossible to list all of them in a short letter. The socialist revolution, which inaugurated a new era in world history, won under the party's leadership. Thanks to the selfless toil of the party

members and the entire Soviet people, a developed socialist society was created in our country and mankind was given a practically tested science of how to build it. The party is raising over the planet the pure and spotless Marxist-Leninist banner. Its policy, based on the firm foundations of revolutionary doctrine, expresses the basic interests of the people. Always looking forward, the party is charting scientific ways of social development.

The party is gaining ever new victories because it is most closely linked with the people and enjoys their undivided support, M. Kafarov goes on to say. It serves the people and concern for the good of the people is the supreme law governing its activities. The party profoundly believes in the creative forces of the people and in their wisdom. It highly values their very rich experience and knowledge. It demands of the party members, of leading cadres above all, always to strengthen their ties with the masses. "That is why we, the Soviet people," M. Kafarov concludes, "are always with the Leninist party, and that is why we warmly approve the decisions of its 26th congress and will do everything possible to ensure their implementation!"

Like the rest of the mail received by the editors this letter proves the ever-strengthening unbreakable unity between party and people, which is a guarantee for our present and future victories.

Zhitomir teacher V. Kavun expresses patriotic feelings journalistically: "History, a most objective and just critic, brought up the powerful, the omnipotent spirit and beautifully refined features of the Soviet person. His soul is a huge ocean of feelings. It is as beautiful as peaceful waves glimmering in the sun. It is good like the pure cloudless sky with a dreamy glow on the horizon, where the sun is just about to appear. It is strong like the firm handshake of a worker. It is powerful like age-old cedar trees deeply rooted in their native and infinitely loved soil. It is open like the endless skies.

"By nature the Soviet person is persistent like the drops of water which can drill rocks, and irrepressible, for a true work of art defeats time and is eternal like life itself. The Soviet character has encompassed within itself everything best developed by mankind so far. It was molded under the unfading stars of the Kremlin and embraced by a Marxist-Leninist outlook. The character of the Soviet person combines warmth, sincere well-wishingness and friendliness toward those worthy of them with the hardness of a diamond toward those who scoff at the orphans and the hungry and who, like clowns, leap into a fanatical dance, rattling weapons."

The letter writers expressed their full support of the strategic line charted by the 26th CPSU Congress for steadily upgrading wellbeing and culture and ensuring peaceful conditions for the constructive toil of the Soviet people and their friends and allies. The party implements this strategy in the face of drastic aggravation of international circumstances, caused by the actions of the U. S. administration and the aggressive NATO circles, and their aspiration to eliminate the positive results of detente achieved in the 1970s. The objective of the current anti-Soviet political propaganda campaign is to instill in the mind of the American and other nations the false opinion that military superiority over the USSR is a kind of panacea for the solution of many if not all political, economic, social and even moral problems of the capitalist world.

cattle. "However, why is it that such prices do not take into consideration the natural differences of the individual farms? Would it not be more expedient to have 15-20 or, for some commodities, even fewer varieties of purchase prices, but based on normative indicators?" E. Osipov asks.

The approach suggested by the author to improvements in purchase prices is consistent with the decisions of the July 1978 CC CPSU Plenum, which demanded of the state organs to deal more extensively with the "problems of price setting for both agricultural and industrial commodities in the area of agriculture and services, paying particular attention to the economic substantiation of prices and their more effective utilization as a lever in the further development and improvement of agricultural production."

In our view land registration, as stipulated in the Foundations of Agricultural Legislation of the USSR and of Union Republics, adopted in 1968, could play a substantial role in meeting these Central Committee requirements. Unfortunately, such registration has still not been completed.

N. Ivanov, author of the article "Upgrading the Quality of Planned Natural Balances Is an Important Direction in Improving the Economic Mechanism," has dealt with problems of planning, price setting and cost effectiveness in industry for 40 years. In this connection, he wants to share some views on the appearance of disproportions in the national economy. In his opinion, they appear already in the planning process, whose first stage is the centralized balancing of needs for goods, based on consumer requests, expressed in physical terms. The ministry submits its balanced plan to the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Gossnab and other departments. In the course of its consideration the ministry's request for resources is reduced and the plan becomes unbalanced. The ministry makes its production plan consistent with the allocated raw materials stocks. This is done by reducing the number of goods or eliminating the production of those for whose output the necessary resources have not been secured. Such goods are replaced by others on the basis of their ability to restore the disturbed volumes of output, cost ceilings and profits. This rebalanced and reapproved plan is issued to the enterprises. At this point, a new imbalance develops. Because of the planning of material stocks on the basis of consolidated indicators, it frequently turns out that the consolidated volume (of electric motors, cables or metals, for example) does not include some models, types or brands, such as electric motors or cables with specific characteristics and rolled metal goods of precisely stipulated varieties. By turning to suppliers, the Gosplan, the USSR Gossnab and other directival and control party organs, the enterprise, association or entire ministry succeeds in raising partially the amounts of materials it needs. The production of goods not backed by resources is shifted throughout the year from quarter to quarter and is subsequently dropped from the plan. In turn, the failure to supply consumers with extremely needed goods triggers a chain reaction of new disproportions in the national economy.

N. Ivanov entirely agrees with the fact that "there has been a certain tendency to turn into a fetish the role of value indicators,...while that of physical indicators (while not verbally denied) has been in fact lowered" (see KOMMUNIST No 14, 1980, p 24). He emphasizes that value indicators gained priority over physical indicators in planning and in assessing the work of sectors and enterprises. That is why it is so essentially important to upgrade the importance of natural indicators, as stipulated in the CC CPSU and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Improving Planning and Increasing the Influence of the Economic Mechanism on Upgrading Production Effectiveness and Work Quality," which sets a procedure for assessing the implementation of contracts and orders in terms of required variety.

According to N. Ivanov and some of our other correspondents, some erroneous ideas made their way in economics and, as time went on, began to be considered axiomatic in the 1970s. For example, it is believed that it is possible to plan the national economy on a national scale only in terms of sufficiently consolidated, combined indicators, and that in centralized detailed planning physical indicators are unnecessary, for the prices of all products are set on the basis of modified costs, for which reason procuring scarce resources for the production process is automatically controlled, without the need for rigid plan assignments. However, practical experience has proved that such hopes for an "automatic" solution are unjustified. A decade of efforts to develop such a price system proved to be sterile, in the author's view.

In the opinion of many readers the time has come to direct some of the major computer and personnel facilities of ministries and planning and procurement organs to the formulation of centralized physical balances which would cover the entire variety of materials and goods.

Many shortcomings in planning and administration, including disproportions, bottlenecks, incomplete use of resources, holdups in decision making and implementation, disobedience on the part of individual officials, bureaucracy and voluntarism are features alien to our society. The interest shown by the journal's readers in the successful struggle against such shortcomings and the solution of ripe problems is confirmed by the great response to M. Gvardeytsev's article "Question of Great Importance" (KOMMUNIST No 18, 1980).

The centralized planning and management of a national economy of such a tremendous scale as ours demands scientifically substantiated effective criteria for the operative assessment of production effectiveness, interrelated and coordinated at all levels in accordance with the strategic tasks of social development. M. Gvardeytsev recommends as a qualitatively meaningful criterion in assessing economic management effectiveness the indicator of the growth rates of social labor productivity. He bases his idea not on the traditional method used in determining the level of labor productivity in the national economy (social product in its monetary expression, divided by the number of production workers) the shortcomings of which are universally known, but on objective indicators which bring up more completely the socialist economic mechanism. In order to ensure the practical implementation of this approach, the author suggests a system of specialized mathematical support managements (SMOU) based on computer use.

Doctor of Technical Sciences D. Kontorov, department head at the USSR Academy of Sciences Radioengineering Institute, believes that the use of the "doubling time" indicator as a criterion of effective management would eliminate many shortcomings within a short time. "In addition to the arguments expressed in M. Gvardeytsev's article," he writes, "let us recall K. Marx' words to the effect that 'in the final account, all savings are reduced to time savings.' Naturally, the use of such a general and basic criterion in operative management will not be possible without substantial changes in management ways and means." For this reason he agrees with M. Gvardeytsev that local criteria must be made consistent with this general criterion and that an SMOU must be developed as a working apparatus which will make it possible, with the help of computers, to formulate meaningful management tasks on a quantitative basis. In his view, this is one of the basic problems the solution of which will be of tremendous importance.

"We consider that the basic stipulations contained in the article are applicable in terms of the specific objectives of our sector, which is tempestuously developing at the present time," writes Hero of Socialist Labor Yu. Koshelev, candidate of technical sciences and head of the Glavtonnel'metrostroy of the Ministry of Transport Construction. Doctor of Technical Sciences G. Lopato, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member and director of the Scientific Research Computers Institute, and Doctor of Economic Sciences N. Veduta, Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, head of the technical and economic research laboratory of that institute, believe that the article discusses a problem without whose solution no radical improvements in public production are possible at the present stage.

The management process must ensure above all the balancing of all production connections in public production and balance variants wherever disturbances of relations are inevitable, they write. A properly balanced plan must become the firm foundation for all subsequent work for the implementation of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress. Ensuring the balanced nature of planned assignments in all respects is a most important prerequisite for raising the standard of economic management. Discussing further the optimizing of production relations, the scientists point out that the formulation of a precise balance faces the problems of the effectiveness criterion and of the assessment of outlays and results. The choice of the best variance in production technology is based on minimum reduced outlays. Therefore, the problem of the effectiveness criterion becomes the problem of determining outlays per unit of output. Prices play the role of the indicator of social outlays per unit of output. By lowering or raising prices to the level of the normative profit of an individual product, we influence the outlay indicators wherever this product is used in the manufacture of one or another commodity. In turn, here again the same is practiced, as a result of which the circle is closed. Production costs change all along the line, as a result of which nothing but a memory remains of previously planned profits.

The increasing inclination to link wholesale prices to a variety of technical parameters brings an even greater confusion and vagueness in price setting. The only solution to this, according to G. Lopato and N. Veduta is the economic-mathematical modeling of production relations and the use of computers in national economic planning, management and price setting. In their view, no other measures could help.

A. Ulitin (Leningrad) believes that M. Gvardeytsev directs attention to the key problems of upgrading socialist production effectiveness with his study of a decisive link in national economic management. The application of the ideas and methods suggested by the author of the article "Question of Great Importance" would be tremendously useful.

A. Yefremov, docent at the applied mathematics chair, Moscow Automotive-Highway Institute, fully agrees with M. Gvardeytsev. The study of the operations of a number of big automotive transportation enterprises (ATP) conducted by our chair, he writes, has shown substantial disparities among the organization of trucking, the possibilities of the ATP and the methods for controlling the hauling process. Today the main form of interaction between the ATP and their customers is assigning to them vehicles on a daily or shift basis. The vehicles are left idle and their utilization coefficient is slightly over 50 percent. And all of this takes place when the country's national economy is experiencing a shortage of transport facilities. Had a

mathematical system been used by the services planning the work of the automotive transportation system, which would make it possible to draw up truck schedules which would reduce to a minimum cross-runs and idling, the customer would be given motor vehicles for a strictly specified number of trips.

One of the means for upgrading the effectiveness with which vehicles are used is to consolidate the enterprises. However, as a study has indicated, in the majority of cases this does not yield expected results. The reason is the disparity between the consolidated enterprise and the retained old methods of planning freight haulage. In the big ATP, even more frequently than the small ones, vehicles are "rented out." That is why mathematical support of production planning and management, which can resolve in a few minutes complex problems of vehicular schedules, is vitally necessary. A. Yefremov arrives at the same conclusion as M. Gvardeytsev: the solution of major production problems on the basis of automated control systems is the main direction in the development of production forces. It is truly a question of great importance.

"We cannot but agree with the conclusion drawn in the article that further management improvements are impossible without the elaboration of special methods for meaningful data processing. Therefore, the suggestion that a proper target program be elaborated is timely and, in our view, would substantially upgrade the effectiveness of automated control systems on a national scale," write Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Varshavskiy, professor at the mathematical computer support chair of the Leningrad Electrical Engineering Institute imeni V. I. Ul'yanov (Lenin), and Doctor of Economic Sciences N. Ukhov, head of sector at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems (Leningrad). "Specialists in our institute believe that the implementation of the suggestions expressed in M. Gvardeytsev's article and the use of the methods suggested by him and his coauthors in other published works would enable us to upgrade substantially management effectiveness and to influence greatly economic upsurge," writes N. Yevtikhiyev, rector of the Moscow Institute of Radioengineering, Electronics and Automation of the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member.

"M. Gvardeytsev's article raises major and very topical problems. The problem of upgrading management effectiveness has been formulated by the author on an essentially new and realistic basis," sums up V. Lazutkin (Leningrad).

The questions raised in M. Gvardeytsev's article are of major importance in the practical implementation of the course charted by the 26th CPSU Congress of national economic intensification and increased effectiveness. Such is the opinion of candidate of technical sciences S. Krashennnikov, head of the Department of Economic-Mathematical Methods at the USSR Gosplan Scientific Research Institute of Complex Fuel-Energy Problems. Studies indicate that the key aspect in resolving the problem of intensification and increased effectiveness of automated control systems is the creation of information bases which would provide indicators of the production possibilities of enterprises and associations, the organization of a system for the systematic gathering and exchange of information among computer centers at different management levels and the elaboration and application of a uniform methodology for assessing national economic effectiveness. Management systems based on computer data of the "OKA," "INES" and others have become widespread in the country. However, S. Krashennnikov writes, the use of such bases is exceptionally complex and

labor intensive, for they are not equipped with facilities for the automation of programming and proper instructions, and use different coding systems. The USSR State Committee of Science and Technology should pay attention to this matter.

Among the responses to the article "Question of Great Importance" (of which more than 60 were received) were articles and notes by Doctor of Economic Sciences A. Uspenskiy (Moscow), Yu. Rakhmaninov, chief of the construction and installation trust of the Ministry of Transport Construction, Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Ivanitskiy (Moscow), Yu. Smirnov, head of the computers and systems chair, Moscow Higher Technical School imeni Bauman, Doctor of Technical Sciences V. Drakin (Moscow), Prof K. Pashayev (Baku), Captain First Rank I. Petukhov, candidate of technical sciences and senior instructor at the Higher Navy School of Radio Electronics imeni A. S. Popov, N. Kalinin, head of the laboratory on problems of social production management at the economics faculty of Moscow State University, I. Butin, in charge of the "Organization and Effectiveness of Information-Computer Support of Social Production Management" project at Moscow State University, Doctor of Technical Sciences Ya. Dymarskiy, Docent V. Koryukin, candidate of philosophical sciences, deputy chairman of the bureau of the Ural department of the Soviet National Association of History and Philosophy of the Natural Sciences and Technology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, V. Byazyrov, bureau associate, and others. They support the questions raised by the author, supplement and refine their various aspects and cover features of the problem which were either not discussed or even mentioned. The authors unanimously agree that giving production management special mathematical support is one of the most important prerequisites for upgrading its effectiveness and ensuring the growth of social labor productivity.

Unfortunately, documents reflecting the viewpoints of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology, USSR Gosplan, USSR Academy of Sciences, USSR Gosstroy, ministries and departments are not among the responses to this article so far received by the editors.

About 50 of the approximately 400 responses to the journal's publications are related to M. Tetel'baum's letter "School Responsibility and 'Happy' Percentage." The letter, which was published recently (KOMMUNIST No 7, 1981) attracted the attention of school and VUZ personnel and of the public at large.

I. Krasnikov (Kuybyshev), CPSU member since 1928, entirely agrees with the author of the article. The percentage mania in the schools is a major evil, similar to figure padding in industry. It is the same type of cheating the state and society but with far more serious consequences. When a teacher gives a passing rather than failing grade the entire class is aware that he is violating the principles of objectivity and equity and morality norms. If the teacher does this, so can we, the children think.

"The publication of this principle-minded letter should lay the foundation of an extensive exchange of views on the most topical problems of public education," writes teacher G. Nikanorov (Moscow). In his view, it is extremely necessary to formulate truly scientific and objective criteria in assessing educational work. Their absence is prime reason for all of our educational shortcomings, errors and troubles, he believes.

The same idea is discussed by V. Beylinson (Moscow), bureau member, A. S. Makarenko Section, RSFSR Pedagogical Society, and USSR excellent education worker. Percentage mania is incompatible with honest, proper and, even more so, innovative schoolwork. The role of percentages, based on the school system itself, should be assumed, in his view, by the honest and open criteria adopted by the school in order to meet the requirements of our social progress. End result assessments must include criteria governing the quality of all specific types of work of educators, ensuring the results of school activities. It is the author's conviction that the key to the elaboration and mass application of an effective system for grading all types of educational work is provided by Makarenko's concept of pedagogical technology, which has been yielding excellent results for more than 50 years in raising educated, able and convinced fighters for communism.

N. Bukhteyev, candidate in historical sciences and senior instructor at the Makeyevka Engineering-Construction Institute Chair of History of the CPSU and Scientific Communism, writes: "I support entirely and fully M. Tetel'baum's opinion. The questions raised in his article apply quite legitimately to the higher school as well." The percentage of passing grades becomes the only dominant criterion in rating one or another VUZ, the author complains. Essentially, this approach radically defeats the objective of improving the quality of specialist training. "To surmount percentage mania is one of the vital requirements of today. The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education must issue its decisive opinion in this matter."

Doctor of Technical Sciences V. Aynshteyn, professor at the Moscow Institute of Fine Chemical Technology imeni V. Lomonosov, responds to M. Tetel'baum's letter, with its exciting civic position and convincing and profound arguments. "Percentage mania has penetrated deeply and extensively into the higher schools. This is no 'local initiative' in the least but a comprehensive phenomenon, triggered by objective and subjective reasons alien to the interests of our society," he writes bitterly. "Chasing percentages" has moral grounds: the activities of a VUZ are rated according to grades; VUZs with a high percentage of passing grades and a low percentage of dropouts are considered good. The level of examination grades is made consistent with the currently acceptable grade average. In order to arrive at such a figure, pressure is exerted on the teacher (starting with a public assessment of who has given failing grades and how many, and ending with organizational conclusions).

The author cites an instructive document of the end of the 1920s, when the country was experiencing a most grave shortage of engineering cadres. A directive of the People's Commissariat of Education, which was then in charge of higher education, demanded that "no inflated student grades be given for showing off purposes. Poorly trained students must in no case be passed. Although this may represent a lower percentage of passing students, in reality this indicates an improvement in student grades, better work by the higher school and its increased exigency toward itself" (quoted from the book "Kakogo Inzhenera Dolzhny Gotovit' Nashi Vtuzy" [The Type of Engineer Whom Our Higher Technical Schools Must Train], Moscow-Leningrad, 1928, p 12). To this day no one would dare to oppose this statement. The people simply prefer to ignore it.

The pursuit of good grades, V. Aynshteyn writes, enjoys substantial "material" support as well: the position of a teacher is directly related to the number of students. The dismissal of 11 students who are unwilling to study means that the VUZ must lay one teacher off. That is why the teachers concentrate on the weak students,

which leaves them virtually no time to work with the good students who will contribute to scientific and technical progress: "...We do not raise them to the level they should reach. This is the direct equivalent of an economic loss. It means a future slowdown in the pace of scientific and technical progress."

The greatest harm which such pursuit of percentages causes is moral. It leads to the appearance of a type of teacher who considers grade records more important than the quality of specialist training. Such a teacher cares nothing about "passing" an obviously poor student. In such a case, how can a student be raised in a spirit of industriousness and persistence? Passing a student from one course to another has a corrupting influence on his fellow students. Some of them graduate as good-for-nothing specialists and, worse, as people who have developed an consumerist attitude toward their work, the society and their comrades. It is thus that the development of lofty civic principles is pushed into the background.

The essence, the pathos of these letters, as well as of those which we were unable to mention here, may be reduced to the following: We must engage in a decisive and adamant struggle against percentage mania. The management of public education and of higher schools throughout the country has the guaranteed support of the broad school and VUZ public in this exceptionally important matter.

Something else: Occasionally KOMMUNIST receives poems, although their authors know that this is not a literary-artistic journal. Svetlana Asnis (Vinnitsa) sent to the editors a cycle of poems entitled "Glory to Labor--The Victory of Prometheus." Despite a fragile rhythm and some stylistic errors, we can see an image, a sincere feeling, and we wish the young author of this cycle further persistent and successful work on her poetry.

Russia! Country of birches and poplars,
Living whiteness of cherry orchards,
Sea of grain and streaks of feather-grass,
Russia! Ancient and young....

The sky was in flames and the earth was melting
The rivers were dark from the blood,
But my homeland endured,
Although its exploits were born in hellish pains.

And here is how S. Asnis expresses the active life stance of the Soviet youth:

I do not mind working throughout the night,
I do not mind working throughout my life,
As long as the words 'I can'
Help me to forget my tiredness.

Party member B. Golotin from Rostov sent to the editors the poem "A Tale of Loyalty," which reminds us of our common responsibility for the cause of the revolution and peace, and the fate of present and future generations.

As we pointed out, this mail survey covers only the basic questions raised by our readers. Naturally, the range of articles, notes and letters is substantially

broader. Let us point out that over the past 6 months the volume of mail has increased substantially. There is an obvious increase in the number of letters in which the masters of the country are expressing their views ever more loudly, showing their deep interest in strengthening the country's power and prestige, developing production, science and culture and adopting a concerned attitude toward natural and governmental resources and the people's property.

Many of the authors of petitions and complaints received by the editors expressed their intolerance of waste and violations of state and labor discipline. They call for the elimination of shortcomings and for bringing order wherever it is lacking. The number of such letters is increasing. This is understandable, for the Soviet people are exercising ever more extensively their right to participate in the administration of social and governmental affairs. The elimination of the shortcomings they expose and the implementation of their constructive suggestions is a major reserve for socialist development.

Over the past 6 months the editors sent about 400 of the letters to central and local state and party organs for their consideration and taking of specific measures. Most of the answers proved that critical reports, suggestions and complaints attained their objective. This enhances our efforts for the implementation of the historical decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress.

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